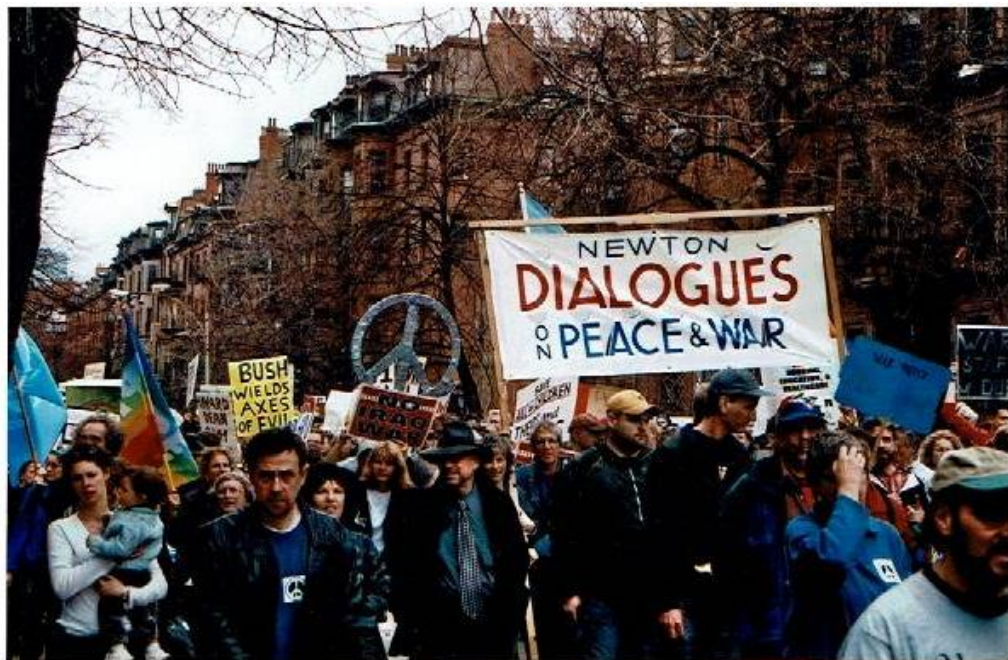


A HISTORY OF NEWTON DIALOGUES ON PEACE AND WAR

2001 – 2007

*One community's response in opposition to its government's policies
after the attacks of 9/11*



Written and compiled by Linda Smith Nathanson, 2016

With help from Steve Nathanson and Dave Ascher

Special thanks to Louise and Sev Bruyn, Octo and Sarah Barnett, Doris Tennant, Dave Ascher, Dick Sterne, Dan Shaw, and Judith Hudson for allowing me to interview them about their experiences in Newton Dialogues.

Dedicated to all my friends in Newton Dialogues on Peace and War

“A time comes when silence is betrayal.”
--Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr.

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Additional Notebooks and Folders

These materials may be viewed in the Jackson Homestead and Museum, 527 Washington Street, Newton, MA 617-796-1450. They are available in hard copy only.

Folder #1	NDPW public reading of <i>Guantanamo: Honor Bound to Defend Freedom</i> , Sunday, December 11, 2005. Copy of the script.
Notebook #2	NDPW Announcements distributed at monthly meetings, 2003-05
Notebook #3	Early meetings, 2001 – 2002 NDPW Minutes of the Working Group, 2003 - 2007
Folder #4	Photographs
Folder #5	NewTV Interview Video VHS with NDPW 10/09/02
Folder #6	Articles
Notebook #7	Copies of <i>Alternative Views</i> , June 2003 – October 2004

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Preface

Newton Dialogues on Peace and War (NDPW) grew out of small group of people who met in our Newton Highlands living room shortly after the attacks of September 11, 2001. Like many other people, we were confused and worried about what would happen next: How would our government react and what should we, as citizens, do?

It did not take long before the Bush administration launched an invasion of Afghanistan in an unsuccessful effort to find those responsible for the attacks and also to overthrow the Taliban and install a new government. Given the large number of Afghan civilians killed in this invasion, our opposition to our government's reaction increased.

In 2002, talk of an invasion of Iraq—a country with no connection to 9/11--grew louder within the U.S. government. In response to the growing likelihood of another invasion, NDPW began a weekly vigil in Newton Center in July of 2002—eight months before the Iraq war began. We wanted to alert people to the threat of an extended and unnecessary war and to stimulate public opposition to it.

From the vantage point of 2016, politicians routinely describe the Iraq invasion as a “mistake.” But that was not the case in 2002-2003. It fell to hundreds of community groups around the country and around the world to stand up and protest this action by the United States government.

This is the story of one such community protest group.

The group that first met in our living room in 2001 grew unexpectedly large and in unexpected directions. It grew from about ten people to an organization with an email distribution of over a thousand. It also grew from simply having a shared sense of opposition to our government's policies to an activist organization that, over many years, held hundreds of talks, demonstrations, workshops, vigils and petitions. Our speakers addressed issues ranging from the Iraq invasion and occupation to the Patriot Act, torture and Guantanamo, the Israel-Palestine dilemma, and many other issues facing the United States and the world community.

Though NDPW was begun by Newton residents, many people from other communities attended our programs, and we co-sponsored many events with protest groups from other Massachusetts towns and cities. NDPW sponsored hundreds of events, some in conjunction with the Newton Free Public Library, the West Newton Cinema, and with the Eliot Church in Newton Corner.

The great majority of events and most of our monthly meetings have taken place in the Eliot Church, and we acknowledge with deep appreciation the Church's generosity and support.

Over time, a website was created for NDPW and later expanded and revised. Both sites are still available online: www.newtondialog.org and www.newtondialogues.org.

When my husband and I moved from Newton to Brookline in 2007, the entire archive of NDPW up to that point moved with us. This record seemed to me too important to be allowed to disappear, and it is that impulse that has led to the writing of this History.

The history of Newton Dialogues is a narrative of events and activities followed by an Appendix containing scanned flyers from most of NDPW's talks and programs, as well as many other materials, and copies of the impressive newsletter, *Alternative Views*, written during the anguished year of 2003-2004. With the help of the Jackson Homestead and Museum (Historic Newton) (www.historicnewton.org) notebooks and folders of additional material will be preserved and made available to the public. The History itself, including the appendix, will also be available in the Newtonia Collection of the Newton Free Library.

The bulk of activities described took place during the years from 2001 to 2007, but NDPW continues to hold talks and events, and these more recent activities are listed toward the end of this book.

My hope is that the History of Newton Dialogues will be interesting and useful to people studying how a group of ordinary citizens in the aftermath of 9/11 organized to oppose what they perceived to be (and what has now been confirmed to be) disastrous policies on the part of their government.

I remain very proud of our efforts and grateful for the many good people I came to know through this experience.

Linda Smith Nathanson

April, 2016

A History of Newton Dialogues on Peace and War 2001 – 2007

On September 11, 2001, nineteen men, mostly from Saudi Arabia, commandeered four planes and attacked the United States, killing nearly 3000 people. Like most people all over the world, Newton citizens reacted in horror and disbelief. Suddenly we learned about the fundamentalist Muslim group called Al Qaeda that had organized these attacks.

Within two weeks of the attacks, several Newton residents, some of whom had been part of earlier protests against the Gulf War of 1990-91, met to talk. As they later described it, they were “united by a sense of urgency about the challenges facing our country...they feared that our government would respond to the September 11 attacks with massive military force and that such a response would decrease the security of Americans and other peoples; [they] believed that efforts to prevent terrorism must be grounded in international cooperation; and...were disturbed that in the period after September 11, there was [too] little discussion and debate about how our country should respond to the threat of terrorism.”

Fearful and troubled, the group began meeting in a regular way simply to share their concerns—concerns which grew when the United States government began raids in Afghanistan to try to capture the leaders of Al Qaeda and then, when these covert military efforts failed, the U.S. decided to launch a full offensive war against Afghanistan.

Afghanistan at that time was governed by the Taliban, a strict Muslim sect that forbids girls’ education, forbids women from going outside the home without a male escort, and uses crushing punishment for the smallest deviation from their strict interpretation of the *Q’uran*. In March of 2001, the Taliban had destroyed 1700 year-old Buddhist statues with great religious and cultural value. Finally, the Taliban had provided a safe harbor for Al Qaeda leaders and their followers and allowed Al Qaeda to use their country as a training ground. These factors made it easy for many Americans to think that it was appropriate to fight against the Taliban. Most Americans focused on these facts and ignored the unpleasant reality that the 9/11 attacks on the U.S. were carried out not by Afghans, but Saudis.

The group of Newton residents who met informally in September and October of 2001 could not follow this reasoning. To them, the 9/11 attacks were carried out by terrorists, not by a nation-state; they were acts that demanded a criminal investigation and punishment, not an invasion and war that would inflict harm on civilians. As the Afghan invasion began in the fall of 2001, this small group of Newton citizens tried to figure out how best to express their opposition and influence the actions of the U.S. government.

The group of people that began to meet shortly after 9/11 grew slowly into a local effort to educate the public about war and peace issues in general and to create greater leverage to affect government policies on war and peace. Believing that democracy can flourish only if citizens discuss and debate government policies, rather than simply acquiescing in

them, we eventually named our group *Newton Dialogues on Peace and War*. In the following decade, Newton Dialogues on Peace and War (NDPW) organized hundreds of local programs, protests, and other events, focusing primarily on war and peace issues generated by U.S. policies but also on the Israel/Palestine dilemma and the civil rights challenge posed by the USA Patriot Act.

Local peace organizations sprang up all around the country in response to the United States invasions, first of Afghanistan in 2001 and then of Iraq in 2003. Newton Dialogues on Peace and War was one of hundreds of such groups around Massachusetts* and around the country that came into being after 9/11. This narrative recounts the growth of a local Newton peace group, what it did, and what it meant within the community at a time of great crisis in U.S. history.

<p>*Note that an asterisk in the text indicates material that can be found in the Appendix to this history.</p>
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Beginnings and Background

Several of the Newton residents who gathered in the fall of 2001 to discuss U.S. responses to 9/11 had taken part in vigils to protest the First Gulf War more than ten years earlier. The latter protest began spontaneously in December, 1990, with a vigil—held every night in Newton Highlands before and during the Gulf War-- at the corner of Lincoln and Walnut Streets. This small group stood in the winter cold, marched in the 1991 Memorial Day parade, and held a vigil during the Fourth of July ceremonies. Since Newton Dialogues on Peace and War grew out of this 1990-91 “Newton Peace Vigil,” it seems appropriate to begin this history of NDPW with a description of the earlier group’s motivation and concerns.

The 1990-1991 Peace Vigil

The following documents summarize the concerns and motivations of the 1990-91 vigil, held to protest the First Gulf War. Below is the *Newton Tab* photo taken that winter.



A letter and statement of purpose were distributed to passers-by in Newton Highlands in September, 1991, to explain why the group was still holding a vigil (weekly by then, not nightly) to protest a war that had ended months earlier. Both the letter and the statement were distributed at that vigil to appeal for support and to encourage a peace presence at the Newton Harvest Fair to be held in October, 1991.

The letter (1) and statement of purpose (2) help to understand the backdrop which led a decade later to the creation of Newton Dialogues on Peace and War:

(1) Letter of September 19, 1991

Dear friends,

Many of you joined in the peace vigil during the Gulf War or know of our activities at that time. We want to bring you up to date on recent activities and to urge you to consider giving us your support. The enclosed statement describes our history and the rationale for our continued activities.

At the end of the war, we felt it was important to continue making a public protest and to counter the impression that the war was universally popular. In addition, we wanted to express our rejection of the militarism that dominates so much of our national approach to problems and to voice our desire for a massive shift of priorities from military to domestic needs. The end of the Cold War and the collapse of the Soviet Union present us with a historic opportunity to reorient the goals and values of our national policies. Ironically, widespread political apathy and the lack of an effective loyal opposition have resulted in an absence of political debate and the most feeble assertions of the need for a genuine new world order.

Now is the time for people committed to peace and justice to demand an end to nuclear testing, an end to large scale military projects like Star Wars and the Stealth bomber, and a turn toward addressing the urgent health, housing, educational, and employment needs of both Americans and citizens of impoverished countries.

We have tried to assert peace-oriented values by holding weekly vigils and by participating in public events and ceremonies. We marched in the Memorial Day parade and stood vigil during the Fourth of July ceremonies. In both cases, we received strong expressions of support from many people. While we have encountered some hostility, we continue to be encouraged and strengthened by the warm and positive responses we frequently receive.

Our effort is a small one. Nonetheless, we see it as an important attempt to pierce the apathy, inertia, and sense of resignation that hangs over the political scene. We estimate that over 1500 people see our vigil each week, and we hope that our presence both stimulates thought and confirms the convictions of people who agree with us. Moreover, each of us has benefited greatly from the fellowship and support that we derive from standing together to express our common convictions.

Please consider joining us on Thursdays between 5 and 6 p.m. at the corner of Lincoln and Walnut. In addition, we need people to help us at the Harvest Fest in Newton Centre on October 6 between 12 and 5 p.m. If you have questions or would like to volunteer for October 6, please call one of us. Finally, if you belong to a group that would be interested in hearing about our activities and experiences, we would be happy to come and talk about the vigil.

Yours in peace,

*Paula Chasan Sarah Lamstein Joan Labby Dan Shaw Alice Wolpert
Marvin Miller Steve Nathanson Verne MacArthur Beth Lerbinger Gilly
Beram Susan Mirsky Doug Sherman Ruth Sterne Dick Sterne*

Distributed with this 1991 letter was the following Statement of Purpose:

(2) Statement of Purpose

“The Newton Peace Vigil began in December, 1990, as an effort by Newton citizens to oppose the initiation of a war against Iraq. During the war, the vigil continued as a protest against the destructive policies chosen by our government and its allies.

We do not share in the ‘euphoria’ many felt when the war ended. While grateful that relatively few Americans died, we mourn for the untold numbers of Iraqis who died and suffered injury. We take no delight in the destruction of Iraqi water, electric and sanitation facilities, since these are necessary to sustain people’s lives. We grieve because the huge sums of money spent in the war are needed to provide education, health care, jobs, and housing for our own citizens and to assist people in need through the world.

WHY ARE WE STILL PROTESTING WHEN THE WAR IS OVER?

We are still here in order to combat the impression that everyone supported the war, that everyone is pleased with the results of the war, and that everyone supports continued emphasis on building and developing more weapons of destruction.

We are here to urge others to reconsider the alleged ‘triumph’ of the Gulf War and to resist the undue emphasis on military strength that dominates the thinking of our political leaders.

We are here to call for a change in our national priorities. With the end of the Cold War, there is a unique opportunity to redirect our society to peaceful ends. Americans should demand that there be a ‘peace dividend’ that is spent to improve our country. We should be investing scarce resources to bring education, jobs, health care, and a safe environment to Americans. We should not be squandering our tax money on Star Wars, Stealth bombers and other multi-billion dollar weapons while people among us go without food, shelter, medical care, education, and employment. Nor should we be exporting destructive weapons throughout the world.

We are here to protest against leaders who assure us that America is Number #1 while they fail to address the urgent problems that face our nation and the other peoples of the earth.

Finally, we are here because the only way for change to occur is for ordinary citizens to make our voices heard. If no one protests, no change will occur. Policies directed toward peace and justice will only be adopted if ordinary citizens demand them. We are here to express that demand.

If you share our concerns, please join us. Vigils will be held every Thursday from 5 p.m. to 6 p.m. at the corner of Lincoln and Walnut Streets.

These vigils continued through the winter and fall of 1990-1991. In the months following the Gulf War, participants worked to create a peace presence by marching in the Memorial Day Parade and having a vigil at the Newton July 4th celebration in 1991. Members of the earlier vigil kept in touch over the years, and then came the attacks on September 11, 2001.

Newton Dialogues Forms, Fall, 2001

Although the 1990-91 vigil group and its values and concerns formed the initial core of the informal group (12) that met on September 30, 2001, those who came to the initial meeting following 9/11 had a variety of concerns. All, however, were sad, worried, confused, and wanted to talk with other citizens about the situation and about the U.S. government's direction and values.

A summary of the first meetings held in the fall of 2001, can be found in Notebook #3. All hard cover materials (Notebooks and folders) referred to in this narrative are available at the Jackson Homestead and Museum, 527 Washington St, Newton, MA.

One the first things the group decided to do was to circulate a petition in Newton to protest the invasion of Afghanistan and the threat of widening war. In the fall of 2001, volunteers stood at the Newton Bread and Circus (now Whole Foods) and the Star Market in Newtonville. Our intentions were to stimulate discussion, educate citizens, and encourage political action. Petitions were circulated at the Newton Library, local stores, and at public events, such as the annual Newton Harvest Fair, and Newton Highlands Village Day.

The people who signed the petitions and expressed an interest in taking part in activities formed the basis of a growing list of contacts, with mailing and e-mail addresses. With no specific "growth" plan in mind, these email contacts were gradually collated into a distribution list that became the communication and organizing core of NDPW. At every event, more names and emails were added, and by 2007 this list eventually became a roster of 1000 people.

*One of the most important things to note about the growth of Newton Dialogues is the role of the Internet. Linda Nathanson sent out a **weekly email letter** to hundreds of people, publicizing NDPW actions and programs and those of other communities. The level of activism we achieved during the decade 2001-2007 could not have occurred without the organizing power of the Internet.*

In the winter of 2002 the group began to discuss: (1) outreach to Newton clergy and (2) organizing public events. To give a sense of the group at this point, below is a record of a group meeting held on February 3, 2002. As is clear, everything is very informal. The group as yet has no name, and no structure. Even at this point, however, ideas are flowing

from all participants, and people took individual responsibility for performing particular tasks.

Minutes of a group meeting held during our first spring: February 3, 2002

Our group keeps growing with each meeting, which is very gratifying. Please think about where we might meet in the future, as at this rate, we are going to need a space larger than an ordinary living room. Attending on the 3rd were: Steve and I, Ruth and Dick Sterne, Susan Mirsky, Prasannan Parthasarathi, Edie Propp, Marvin Miller, Dan Shaw, Louise Bruyn, Susanna Porte, Donna LaMontagne, and Kathy Knight.

After introductions, we turned to the business of the evening:

- planning publicity on Father Drinan's talk
- updates on the March 1 petition action
- discussion of our group's "mission statement"
- other actions/business
-

Steve reported that the Newton Library will publicize Father Drinan's talk, "Reflections on the War on Terrorism." Our group will be the co-sponsors. It will be held on Wednesday, March 13, at 7 P.M. in the Main Library. We discussed additional publicity through Newton Cable, the League of Women Voters' Newsletter (as it turns out, we've missed that publication deadline), as well as the Tab and post cards and e-mails to friends. Dan is going to look into the possibility of having an article about the talk or an Emily Rooney interview with Drinan *after* the fact.

Edie urged us all to publicize the talk via cards and e-mail and speaking to friends, as this will publicize our group as well.

The Library is planning to hold two further talks, later in the spring, which will attempt to reflect other opinions on the war.

Prasannan then talked about the **March 1 petition effort**, coordinated by 15 Boston area communities. Peace organizations within these communities will march to the offices of its Congressional representatives to present a petition for restraint in the current crisis. Prasannan will send to all of us by this Friday copies of the final language of the petition, so that *we can each try to get as many signatures on it as possible before Friday, March 1*. The petition has six main points:

- * Support an independent investigation of civilian deaths in Afghanistan
- * Oppose widening the war beyond Afghanistan
- * Support humanitarian aid to the victims of the war
- * Repeal provisions of the USA PATRIOT Act that undermine our civil liberties
- * Oppose increasing the military budget at the expense of needed domestic programs

Louise reminded us to think of arranging for photo coverage of this event.

Louise then passed around a brochure describing a walk by a Buddhist group to promote peace. It has begun in Western Massachusetts and will pass through Newton on **Wednesday, February 13**. They would like to meet for a morning prayer before beginning the day's walk to Boston and beyond, and we agreed to meet at 8:00 A.M. at the corner of Beacon and Center Streets. Those who can walk with them are welcome; those who can only wish them well are also welcome. She stressed again that arranging publicity with the Tab and Globe West is important.

Members then reported on the Saturday peace action meeting in Cambridge. Speakers there pointed out that the U.S. lacks international authority to extend this war, that the lack of international cooperation will have serious consequences. The question arises, as well, where are our senators in this crisis? Where is Barney Frank?

Notes, continued

- Prasannan pointed out that there is a connection between the military budget and current shortfall in school funds. We may want to try to bring that up in public discussions of a Prop 2 and 1/2 override. There is a connection between these things.
- Louise is concerned with alternative energy sources and the role that oil plays in these crises.
- Steve urged everyone in the group to follow Ros Winsor's example and write letters to the newspapers about these issues.
- Dick reminded us of Maureen's suggestion at the last meeting of creating a sister-city connection between Newton and a city in Afghanistan.

We then discussed our group's mission statement. Dick, Steve, and Dan each presented a version of the group's goals and concerns. Dan distributed copies of these versions, and we each will read them before the next meeting so that we come up with a final statement at that time.

To help our group grow, we talked about trying to reach other peace-related groups in the city, such as NAND, WAND, 20/20, and the Coalition for a Strong UN, as well as the Society of Friends, the Social Workers for Peace and Justice, and the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. We should each try to contact people we know and let these groups know of our existence and of the date of our next meeting:

Sunday, February 17, 7:30, at the Nathansons' house, 11 Niles Road (off Brewster Road, which is off Woodward Street). 617-964-5707.

At this 2/17 meeting we will need to:

1. Plan the format of the Drinan event.
2. Approve a final mission statement.
3. Plan for the March 1 petition action.

Remember to come to Newton Center to support the Buddhist walkers "For a New Spring" on Wednesday, February 13, at 8 A.M.

Thanks to all,

Linda

P.S. On Monday, February 11, at 7 P.M. Rep. Kav Kahn will be speaking at the Highlands Congregational. Linda and Steve Nathanson were also present.

This informal group gets a name.

During the fall of 2001, and into winter and spring of 2002, the group continued to meet in a succession of larger and larger living rooms. By early 2002 the group had adopted the name "*Newton Dialogues on Peace and War*." The idea of "dialogue" was important to the group, allowing "room to disagree in a spirit of cordiality," as Doris Tennant expressed it. Dick Sterne suggested that the word order "peace and war," was preferable, as "war and peace" was already taken.

[In one very nice example of this approach we invited a representative of a local bookstore to meet informally to discuss his recent public remarks about Israel. Several of us had been very disturbed by his remarks, but one person in the group—a Quaker--just said, "Let's invite him over to talk." We did just that, and an informal meeting in Sev and Louise Bruyns' living room produced real warmth and communication.]

As more and more people began hearing about the group and attending meetings, the problem of space became pressing. One participant (Diane Price) was a member of the

United Church of Christ (Eliot Church) in Newton Corner, and by September of 2002, she had arranged for rental of space in the church chapel. The church had offered support years earlier to the civil rights movement, and once again they graciously offered space for a nominal fee. For the rest of the decade the Eliot Church sanctuary and chapel were the main locus for the Newton peace group's meetings and programs. In addition, some of the group's early events were held at the Brown Middle School, and those that were co-sponsored by the Newton Free Public Library were held in the Main Library auditorium.

Our first public event was held on March 13, 2002*, at the Newton Free Public Library. It was a talk by **Father Robert Drinan**, former Newton representative to Congress, called "*Reflections on America's Response to the September 11 Attacks.*" The article in the *Newton Tab* announcing the talk describes NDPW as a "citizens' group dedicated to democratic dialogue and the goals of peace and justice. The group seeks peaceful, internationalist responses to terrorism and other global problems."

A Steering Committee – The Working Group

While the monthly large-group meetings—often with speakers--served as a forum to learn about issues involved in war, peace, and other pressing political problems and to share outrage and fear, it soon became clear that in order to plan programs and events, a smaller organizing group was needed. This led to the creation of the Working Group in November, 2002, to act as a steering committee. By that time, we had a treasurer, a telephone tree to reach those who didn't use e-mail, a Web site, built and managed by Octo Barnett, later maintained by Dave Ascher, and a committee to create signs to use at the weekly vigil that had begun in July, 2002. Notes at Working Group meetings were taken initially by Linda Nathanson, and eventually, the role of recording secretary rotated among the Working Group members. Newton Dialogues was not hierarchical, had no formal "membership" as such, and suggestions for programs and events flowed upward from individuals in the group as much as downward from this Working Group. **Many notes from the Working Group can be found in Notebook #3 that accompanies this History in the Newton Historical Society, Jackson Homestead and Museum.**

The Vigil

By the summer of 2002, it became clear that the Bush administration was planning a war against Iraq. In response, Newton Dialogues began to hold a weekly vigil to oppose a war in Iraq. The first one was held on July 11, 2002 in Newton Center, at the corner of Centre and Beacon Streets. Louise Bruyn created a huge banner with a wooden frame that identified the group. Later on, Dave Ascher made a collapsible frame out of PVC piping that was easier to carry. Different people contributed signs and posters, many created by Alice Aronow, who was later helped by a committee of poster-makers.

One person took responsibility for bringing the signs every week, and another person took responsibility for bringing the huge banner. This is a good example of how people in NDPW contributed freely of their own skills. Some contacted speakers, some suggested programs, some did the art work, some spoke at other community meetings to publicize the peace group and encourage others to take action to oppose the invasion of Iraq.

We printed a sheet of advice* to those who wished to stand with us in quiet vigil. However, sometimes, the vigil wasn't quiet at all. This was especially the case that first fall when a large number of Boston College students joined. Their energy was greatly appreciated, even if louder than our usual crowd. In all kinds of weather, the vigil group stood at the corner through the decade after 9/11. It is still meeting at the time this writing, 2016. The weekly vigil numbered anywhere from 10 to 50, depending on events going on in Afghanistan and Iraq. Over 1000 people joined an extraordinary candlelight vigil for peace on the Newton Center Green on the Sunday before the United States invaded Iraq on March 20, 2003.

We publicized the weekly vigil by a notice in the *Newton Tab*, inviting people who opposed an attack on Iraq to join us. Many people joined the vigil because of these announcements, and others joined because they saw the protest every Thursday when they were driving home from work. The vigil gave participants a chance to connect with one another and to be witnesses against what protesters (and many others) considered immoral actions by the U.S. government.

Protesters in the vigil frequently interacted with drivers passing by, most of whom shouted support, and some of whom vehemently disagreed. Inserted before the Appendix at the end of this History, for instance, is the dialogue printed in the *Newton Tab* between Linda Nathanson and a woman in her red car who passed the vigil every week and always shouted, "What about 9/11!" Since Iraq had had nothing to do with the attacks of 9/11, it seemed important to answer this woman's angry question publicly.

As both the war in Iraq and our weekly protest vigil continued, Dan Shaw made a folding easel on which another Dialogues member, Susan Mirsky, created a way of posting the growing number of Iraqi civilians killed and number of American military killed and

wounded. This easel of numbers of dead and wounded became a powerful presence at each vigil.

The vigil gave us an opportunity to talk with people and publicize events. At the vigil we collected e-mail and mailing addresses, and we soon realized that we needed a post office box for folks to contact us and a bank account for contributions. Slowly an organization was taking shape. In addition, Octo Barnett and, later, Dave Ascher, created and maintained a Web site to publicize NDPW's events and provide links to other groups and events in other communities.

If we were going to organize programs, we realized that we needed a regular meeting time for the group. Having a regular place and time meant that the community would know that speakers and discussions would be taking place, and more and more people would be drawn into the conversation about war and peace. We settled on having a monthly meeting on the third Sunday of the month and publicized them with our yellow "vigil" card, distributed at every vigil and protest event.

Newton Dialogues on Peace and War
PO Box 610395 Newton, MA 02461
www.newtondialog.org

*Dedicated to democratic dialogue and discussion.
We oppose militarism and unilateral, preventive wars.
We support cooperative security strategies through the United Nations.
We oppose unwise, unjust tax cuts and support a just economy that provides
support for education, health care, and the environment.
We oppose the USA "Patriot" Act and support the protection of our
cherished civil rights and liberties.*

- Check our website for information, event updates, and ideas.
- Join our mailing list by writing to ntndlg@comcast.net or P.O. Box 610395, Newton, MA 02461.
- Join our weekly vigil—every Thursday, 5 to 6 p.m., corner of Beacon and Centre Streets, Newton Centre.
- Join our monthly meetings for speakers and discussion: 2nd Sunday of every month, 7:30, Eliot Church, 474 Centre Street, Newton Corner.
- Commit yourself to some regular activities for peace and justice.

The Working Group served to come up with the ideas, but it was through the vigil that programs, talks, and films were publicized. This small yellow card above was created to distribute at the vigil to passersby, so they would know who we were and why we were standing on that corner. At the vigil, more people signed up to receive e-mail notices of events, both in Newton and elsewhere, and the roster of participants continued to grow.



The weekly Thursday afternoon vigil has been an important part of Newton Dialogues since July 11, 2002, and persists until the present time (2016).

Opposition to the U.S. Invasion of Iraq Builds, 2002 – 2003.

At every vigil and at every monthly meeting *prior to the invasion of Iraq* NDPW distributed the following Statement of Purpose:

Statement of Purpose in Opposing Attack on Iraq

Newton Dialogues on Peace and War
P.O. Box 610395
Newton, MA 02461
<http://Newtondialog.home.attbi.com>

WHY DO WE OPPOSE A U.S. ATTACK ON IRAQ?

1. Because an attack against Iraq will lead to huge loss of life.

Under the conditions of modern war, huge numbers of people, civilians as well as combatants, Iraqis as well as Americans, will be killed or injured. Iraq would be devastated, making life difficult for years to come.

2. Because attacking Iraq will make America less safe.

Given the turmoil in the Middle East and the hostility of many Muslims to US policies, a US attack could arouse intense opposition in many countries, possibly destabilizing the regimes that we currently support. It could provoke exactly the kind of biological or chemical attack by Saddam Hussein that we fear and could inspire others to launch terrorist attacks against the United States and against Americans abroad.

3. Because it would violate the Charter of the United Nations.

Article 33 calls for the resolution by "peaceful means" of "any dispute, the continuance of which is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security." Article 51 recognizes "the inherent right of individual or collective self-defense" but limits military actions to circumstances in which "an armed attack occurs against a Member of the United Nations." A preventive war would violate this provision.

4. Because it will alienate our friends and allies throughout the world.

Virtually every other nation opposes an attack and favors the use of international institutions and diplomacy. A "go it alone" strategy will undermine both our status in the world and our hopes to combat terrorism, since this can only be done with the cooperation of others.

5. Because it will make us less able to meet the pressing needs of our society.

We should be seeking a society in which all people have access to education, medical care, adequate food and shelter rather than spending our great national wealth on military action.

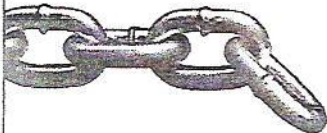
Newton Dialogues on Peace and War urges you to join us in opposing a US attack on Iraq. Use your democratic rights to call on Senators, Congressional representatives, and the President to renounce the plan for a pre-emptive war and to adopt an internationalist, diplomatic approach that is based on UN policies adopted at the end of the 1991 Gulf War.

In February-March, 2003 NDPW collected \$3000 for an ad in the *Newton Tab* opposing the Iraq invasion. It appeared the week before the March 20, 2003, invasion began.

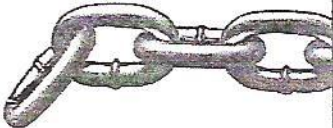
March 12, 2003

EXPERTS SAY: Paid Advertisement

IRAQ



AL QAEDA



THERE'S SIMPLY NO LINK.

"At the FBI, some investigators said they were baffled by the Bush administration's insistence on a solid link between Iraq and Osama bin Laden's network. 'We've been looking at this hard for more than a year and you know what, we just don't think it's there,' a government official said." — James Risen and David Johnston
New York Times, February 2, 2003

"I am also very troubled by the way Bush officials have tried to justify this war on the grounds that Saddam is allied with Osama bin Laden or will be soon. There is simply no proof of that, and every time I hear them repeat it I think of the Gulf of Tonkin resolution. You don't take the country to war on the wings of a lie."
— Thomas Friedman, Pulitzer Prize-Winning Columnist
New York Times, February 19, 2002

EXPERTS SAY:

WAR WILL HURT AMERICA.

"We are about to do something that could ignite a fuse in this region that we will rue the day we ever started." — Gen. Anthony Zinni, USMC (Ret.)
Reuters Conference, October 17, 2002

War with Iraq will kill up to 500,000 Iraqi civilians; cost the US up to \$1,600,000,000,000 and may even "supercharge recruiting for al Qaeda."
NYC 2003: http://www.nytimes.com/2003/02/12/nyregion/12iraq.html
NYC 2003: http://www.nytimes.com/2003/02/12/nyregion/12iraq.html
NYC 2003: http://www.nytimes.com/2003/02/12/nyregion/12iraq.html
NYC 2003: http://www.nytimes.com/2003/02/12/nyregion/12iraq.html

EXPERTS SAY:

INSPECTIONS WORKED BEFORE. THEY CAN WORK AGAIN.

"We did ascertain a 90-95 percent level of verified disarmament [including] the destruction or dismantling of every major factory associated with prohibited weapons manufacture, all significant items of production equipment, and the majority of the weapons and agent produced by Iraq." — Scott Ritter, former U.N. Weapons Inspector
Reuters, February 20, 2002

Successful disarmament of Iraq is possible without Baghdad's active cooperation.
— Hans Blix, Chief U.N. Weapons Inspector
Reuters, February 7, 2003

EXPERTS SAY:

INSPECTIONS WORK WAR WON'T

Sponsored by

Newton Dialogues on Peace and War.

http://newtondialog.home.attbi.com univ@attbi.com PO Box 610395, Newton, MA 02461

Please join our weekly vigil, Thursday 5-6 pm, corner of Beacon and Center Streets

Newton Dialogues sent three bus loads (about 150 people) to the New York City protest against the invasion, February 15, 2003.

NEWTON DIALOGUES ON PEACE & WAR

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 15
In NEW YORK CITY
We will Join People
From Around the Country
& Around the World
To Say No to War.
Be There With Us!!



Our Newton Dialogues bus will leave from Riverside MBTA
at 6:30 A.M. and return by 11:00 P.M.

First come, first served.

Reserve a seat now by sending a check for \$30 to
Judith Hudson, 381 Linwood Avenue, Newton, MA 02460
Make checks out to *Newton Dialogues on Peace & War*.



Pictured left to right are Susan Mirsky, Louise Bruyn, Linda Nathanson, and Sarah Barnett, some of the 150 people from Newton Dialogues who traveled to New York City to take part in the massive protest march against the imminent invasion of Iraq.



The vigil that began in July 2002 continued into the winter of 2003, when it became clear that the war we had opposed so strongly was going to happen. As the war came closer, the numbers of people joining us grew, and at times, a huge number of people clustered on all four corners of Newton Center.

Many of us wondered whether the war could have been prevented if more people had stood on street corners in towns and cities throughout the United States.

In March of 2003 Newton Dialogues published a statement* by Dr. Bernard Lown, against a U.S. attack on Iraq. Dr. Lown, a Newton resident, is the co-founder of International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War and the winner of the 1985 Nobel Peace Prize. See the Appendix for Dr. Lown's statement.

Booklet of Information about Newton Dialogues

As the group began to be known more widely in both Newton and the Boston area, it was important to make a public statement of what Newton Dialogues stood for. In the spring of 2003 we created the 4-page document below to identify our goals and concerns, to be distributed at the vigil, our programs, at fairs, and at the public library on weekends.

NEWTON DIALOGUES ON PEACE AND WAR www.newtondialog.org

Newton Dialogues on Peace & War was formed by a group of Newton Citizens shortly after the September 11 attacks. We were united by a sense of urgency about the challenges facing our country and a concern about the policies that our government might adopt in the response to the terrorist attacks.

Our initial concerns

When we first formed,

- *we feared that our government would respond to the September 11 attacks through the use of massive military force;*
- *we thought that reliance on military means could decrease the security of our country and other peoples;*
- *we believed that efforts to prevent terrorism must be grounded in international cooperation;*
- *we were disturbed that in the weeks and months after September 11, there was so little discussion and debate about how our country should respond to the threat of terrorism.*
- *Believing that democracy can flourish only if citizens discuss and debate government policies rather than simply acquiescing in them, we named our group Newton Dialogues on Peace & War.*

Our fears confirmed

In the time since our group began, many of our worst fears have been confirmed:

- *Instead of a focused search for those who committed the September 11 attacks, the Bush administration chose to engage in a war against Afghanistan, leading to many civilian deaths and scattering terrorist groups to other countries.*
- *In September 2002, the Bush Administration announced a new national security policy that stresses a strategy of unilateral, preventive wars against possible enemies.*
- *The war against Iraq was the first of these wars, and forces within the administration favor additional wars—against Iran, Syria, North Korea, and others.*
- *In order to create public support for the war against Iraq, the Bush administration misled the American people, creating the false impression that Saddam Hussein was connected to the September 11 attacks and greatly*

- exaggerating the threat of an Iraqi attack against the United States, even though Iraq had no nuclear weapons.*
- *There continues to be a lack of serious debate about our country's foreign policy, as political candidates fear denunciation for criticizing the President and "news" channels mislead people with one-sided propaganda.*

How the United States has been damaged

In launching the war on Iraq, the Bush administration acted with disdain for international law, the UN, and world opinion.

- *Our country is now seen by people throughout the world as a major threat to peace and stability.*
- *While the war in Iraq has succeeded militarily, costly difficult tasks remain in restoring Iraq.*
- *The problems of terrorism and nuclear, chemical and biological weapons remain unsolved.*
- *Our own economy is weak, and state and local governments are in crisis.*
- ***The United States needs a new direction***
- *While we acknowledge that there are no simple answers to the problems that confront our nation and the rest of the world, Newton Dialogues urges a new direction for the United States.*

We oppose the unilateral, militaristic policies of the Bush administration and its indifference to domestic policies that promote a good life for Americans.

We support

- *Multilateralism, international law, and the UN,*
- *Protection of our cherished civil liberties and constitutional rights, and democratic traditions,*
- *Resources to help children, the poor the elderly,*
- *Improving health care, education, the environment,*
- *Fair taxes and economic policies that will benefit the vast majority of Americans.*

What we have done

- *Since the fall of 2001, Newton Dialogues has grown from a group of ten to over 600 members.*
- *We have a Website that is rich in information.*
- *We have sponsored public talks on the war on terrorism, the Middle East, the war on Iraq, nuclear weapons, and the USA Patriot Act.*
- *We have held a weekly peace vigil since July 2002, joined rallies in New York and Boston, and lobbied our Congressional representatives.*
- *Our members have spoken at local churches and taken part in numerous community events.*

- *A new electronic newspaper is being launched, and more community education and dialogue programs are planned.*

What you can do

- *Check our website for more information about our group:*
www.newtondialog.org
- *Join our mailing list by writing to univ@attbi.com or P.O Box 610395, Newton, MA 02461*
- *Join us in our weekly peace vigil. We meet every Thursday, from 5 to 6 at the corner of Beacon and Centre Streets.*
- *Come to our monthly meetings, usually held at 7:30 on the 2nd Sunday of the month at the Eliot Church, 474 Centre Street, Newton Corner.*
- *Commit yourself to working for peace and justice in whatever way you can.*

This four-page booklet*--included in the Appendix--was distributed at every event and every vigil. Slowly, the local community and people from other communities began to recognize Newton Dialogues and its activities and to sign up to receive e-mail information.

Alternative Views

Alternative Views was a monthly publication of Newton Dialogues from June, 2003 to October, 2004. The complete collection of *Alternative Views 2003-2004* is included in the Appendix.

.....

In March of 2003 Dr. Bernard Lown gave a talk at the NDPW monthly meeting about the efficacy of political action, recounting his own experience with International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War. In the course of his speech, he described an on-line newsletter in South Korea that drew together articles from the Internet and had a serious and broad political impact in that country.

After Dr. Lown's talk, several members of NDPW were inspired by the example of the Korean on-line paper to establish a local Newton newsletter that would have articles that many people might otherwise not see from around the world: articles relating to the Iraq war, to human rights, Israel/Palestine, and other pressing questions. They called the newsletter *Alternative Views*, which was available on-line and in print form, distributed at local MBTA stops and at the Newton Free Library. Dick Sterne was one of the prime movers, and Dr. Lown contributed substantial seed money to the effort.

The newsletter had an Editorial Board of seven members of NDPW: Daniela Bartelesi-Graf, Severyn Bruyn, Barbara G. Flanagan, James Murdock, Frank Propp, Allan Rubin, and Dick Sterne. Jane Brown contributed occasional illustrations. AV was published

roughly every month, with its first issue on June 11, 2003 and the last on October 20, 2004.

Articles were taken from such diverse sources as the *Guardian* in the UK, the *Toronto Star*, *The New York Review of Books*, and from on-line sources as well. The newsletter included editorials and book reviews, a special issue on the legacy of Hiroshima, the USA Patriot Act, and the Level 4 Bio-weapons lab proposed by Boston University.

Prospectus of *Alternative Views*:

“When, in the Course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connect them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature’s God entitle them, A DECENT RESPECT TO THE OPINIONS OF MANKIND requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.” (The Declaration of Independence, in Congress, July, 1776. Emphasis added.)

In the spirit of the DECENT RESPECT FOR THE OPINIONS OF MANKIND invoked by the Declaration of Independence, Newton Dialogues on Peace and War launches with this issue *Alternative Views*, a print and electronic publication. It will provide you, our subscribers, with a broad spectrum of information and opinion from the United States and other parts of the world. The newspaper will cite, summarize and analyze news reports and editorial commentaries from local and worldwide print, Internet and broadcast sources.

In issues of *Alternative Views*, we’ll be asking you, our readers, for feedback on a particular item in our reports. A thoughtful alternative to the mainstream media—controlled by fewer and fewer owners—*Alternative Views* will also be an antidote of candor to the evasions and timorousness of most of the news and opinion sources with which we’re all familiar.

Our editorial focus will be on the need for citizens within nations, and nations within the world community, to understand and seek solutions to such fundamental problems as

- the enormous gap between the material wealth and relative security of a small number of people, and the hunger, malnutrition, disease, inadequate education and bleak future of the majority;
- the unfair denial to many groups of people of basic human and civil rights;
- the imperial ambitions of the United States and its recently asserted right—in defiance of the United Nations charter—to wage preemptive wars.

The editors of *Alternative Views* seek a world where social justice becomes a foundation of long-lasting peace.”

Below is a copy of the first page of the first issue to give a sense of the newsletter's focus and to appreciate the eloquence of its initial statement of purpose. The newsletter, as Dick Sterne so well expressed it, became an "antidote against despair" for those contributing.

Alternative Views

www.alternative-views.org

Volume 1, Number 1

June 11, 2003

Bush planned Iraq 'regime change' before becoming President

By Neil Mackay

Sunday Herald (Glasgow); 9/15/02

A SECRET blueprint for US global domination reveals that President Bush and his cabinet were planning a premeditated attack on Iraq to secure "regime change" even before he took power in January 2001.

The blueprint, uncovered by the *Sunday Herald*, for the creation of a "global Pax Americana" was drawn up for Dick Cheney (now vice-president), Donald Rumsfeld (defense secretary), Paul Wolfowitz (Rumsfeld's deputy), George W. Bush's younger brother Jeb and Lewis Libby (Cheney's chief of staff). The document, entitled *Rebuilding America's Defences: Strategies, Forces and Resources for a New Century*, was written in September 2000 by the neo-conservative think-tank Project for the New American Century (PNAC).

The plan shows Bush's cabinet intended to take military control of the Gulf region whether or not Saddam

Hussein was in power. It says: "The United States has for decades sought to play a more permanent role in Gulf regional security. While the unresolved conflict with Iraq provides the immediate justification, the need for a substantial American force presence in the Gulf transcends the issue of the regime of Saddam Hussein."

The PNAC document supports a "blueprint for maintaining global US pre-eminence, precluding the rise of a great power rival, and shaping the international security order in line with American principles and interests."

This "American grand strategy" must be advanced for "as far into the future as possible," the report says. It also calls for the US to "fight and decisively win multiple, simultaneous major theatre wars" as a "core mission."

The report describes American armed forces abroad as "the cavalry on the new American frontier." The PNAC blueprint supports an earlier document written by Wolfowitz and Libby that said the US must "discourage advanced in-

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dustrial nations from challenging our leadership or even aspiring to a larger regional or global role."

The PNAC report also:

- refers to key allies such as the UK as "the most effective and efficient means of exercising American global leadership";

(Continued on page 2)

Alternative Views Prospectus

"When, in the Course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitle them, A **DECENT RESPECT TO THE OPINIONS OF MANKIND** requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation." (The Declaration of Independence, in Congress, July, 1776. Emphasis added.)

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- the imperial ambitions of the United States and its recently asserted right — in defiance of the United Nations charter — to wage preemptive wars.

The editors of *Alternative Views* seek a world where social justice becomes a foundation of long-lasting peace.

Resolutions Brought to the Newton Board of Aldermen

In the years after 9/11, Newton Dialogues presented five petitions to the Newton Board of Aldermen, urging them to take peace-oriented stands regarding United States policies. Although the wording of the final resolutions sometimes differed from what NDPW had proposed, between November, 2002, and October, 2009, NDPW sponsored five resolutions that were passed by the Newton Board of Aldermen.

NDPW Petitions

2002: Against the invasion of Iraq
2003: Supporting civil rights and opposing the USA Patriot Act
2007: Opposing building the BU Level 4 Biosafety Lab in Boston
2008: Calling for an immediate end to the Iraq war
2009: Supporting Barney Frank's proposal for 25% reduction of the U. S. military budget

1. November 4, 2002: "Resolved that...President Bush and his Administration work with the United Nations for the peaceful resolution of this situation to exercise strong leadership in an international effort to disarm Iraq...and that only when all non-military options have been thoroughly exhausted should they...cause our country to enter into a war...that may produce intolerable casualties to both American and Iraqi citizens [and] destabilize the region...."
2. August 11, 2003: "Resolved that the Newton Board of Aldermen supports the government of the United States of America in its campaign against terrorism, and affirms its commitment that the campaign NOT be waged at the expense of essential civil rights and liberties of citizens of this country contained in the United States Constitution and the Bill of Rights; and the City of Newton requests and urges its delegation in Congress to monitor the implementation of the USA PATRIOT ACT...."
3. June 18, 2007: Resolved "to urge a halt to the construction of the level 4 bio lab...until the successful completion of required environmental...reviews....and is...opposed to the construction of the BSL4 Laboratories in densely populated areas...."
4. February 4, 2008: Resolved to call on the United States Government to end the war in Iraq...."
5. October 19, 2009: Resolved "to...endorse Representative Barney Frank's proposal to reduce the military budget by 25%...."

The text of all five resolutions* is included in the Appendix at the end of this history.

As part of the resolution against the USA Patriot Act adopted by the Board of Aldermen, NDPW requested that a sign be placed in the reference section of the Newton Free Public Library, informing citizens that the USA Patriot Act allows federal agents to obtain records of borrowers' activities and "prohibits those Library officials from revealing when this has occurred." Newton citizens were thus made aware that the Patriot Act permitted incursions into the privacy of library patrons. Nothing could be done to affect this federal law, but Newton Dialogues was rightly proud of this sign.

Also included in Folder 6 are articles from *The Newton Tab* covering the USA Patriot Act Resolution by the Newton Board of Aldermen.

The NDPW effort to bring this particular resolution successfully to the Board of Aldermen was organized and accomplished by the efforts of NDPW members, Dan Shaw, Prasannan Parthasarathy, Tony Winsor, Octo Barnett, Steve Linsky, and Joselyn Almeida.

Actions and Projects of Newton Dialogues on Peace and War, 2001 - 2007

The following overview of the actions, speakers, workshops, and other events that were organized during this period gives a sense of the variety and scope of the programs this local peace group initiated (**an asterisk* indicates that the text is included in the Appendix**).

- Created a Mission Statement* and Statement of Purpose, opposing a U.S. attack on Iraq*
- Announcements* of coming events were distributed at each Sunday meeting. These were an important part of NDPW communication with the community. Those from 2003-2005 are contained in Notebook #2 with the copy of this History available at the Jackson Homestead.
- At every monthly meeting and every weekly vigil a sign up sheet was distributed. Through these sheets an e-mail roster of over 1000 people interested in peace and justice issues.
- Created By-Laws, December, 2004*
- Created a Web site (initially called www.newtondialog.org) with information about the group, its programs and links to related sites and events.
- Opened a post office box in Newton Highlands.
- Opened a bank account and appointed a treasurer.
- Held a weekly vigil since July 11, 2002*, against the Iraq war and government threats to our civil liberties. Information sheet given out at every vigil.*
- Prompted the Newton Board of Aldermen to pass five resolutions,* four with respect to U.S. foreign policy, and one opposing a Level 4 Bioweapons Lab planned for Boston.

- Set up a peace information table at the outside entrance of the Newton Free Library every Saturday for several years. Petitions, fact sheets, etc. were distributed.
- Circulated statement by Dr. Bernard Lown, opposing the U.S. invasion of Iraq.*
- Formed Media Outreach Committee to publicize events, handle contacts with local media.
- Several members joined the local cable channel NEWTV to promote more coverage for peace issues. Two of these interviews can be viewed on VHS videos available in the archives of the Jackson Homestead.
- Two members, Doris Tennant and Sherry Moore, began a program for NEWTV, interviewing local academics and activists about public policy and peace.
- Published a monthly newsletter, *Alternative Views**, 2003-2004.
- Held monthly meetings with speakers and discussion opportunities for the community. (Most flyers are included in the Appendix.)
- Organized hundreds of talks, demonstrations, and film showings*.

Talks and lectures organized, 2002 - 2007:

Meetings were publicized every week in the *Newton Tab*; those held in the Newton Free Public Library were also announced in the Library newsletter. Meetings are listed chronologically.

1. Father Robert Drinan* (former Newton representative to Congress) speaking on the war against terrorism, March, 2002, Newton Free Library.
2. Panel discussion on "Paths to Peace in the Middle East," * with Alice Rothchild, Elaine Hagopian, and Martin Federman, Newton Library, July, 2002.
3. Barney Frank, "Why War? Why Iraq? Why Now?"* November, 2002.
4. Randall Forsberg "Alternatives to War: Iraq and Beyond"* January 23, 2003.
5. Dr. Bernard Lown "The Threat of Nuclear Weapons—Lessons from 40 Years of Activism" *March, 2003.
6. Nancy Murray, ACLU: "The U.S. Patriot Act: Neither American nor Patriotic,"* April, 2003. Newton Library.
7. "Israel-Palestine," Profs. Steve Copeland and Leila Farsakh, September, 2003.
8. "Shallow and Deep Regime Change,"* Bob Irwin, October 12, 2003.
9. "Why We are in Iraq, Qatar, North Korea and *Trouble* and What We can do about It." *Joe Gerson, AFSC, November 9, 2003.
10. "Globalization 101,"* Prof. Ellen Frank. Co-sponsored with the First Unitarian Society of Newton. January 11, 2004.
11. Robert Jay Lifton, "Superpower Syndrome: America's Apocalyptic Confrontation with the World." Newton Main Library, Co-Sponsored with Newton Library and the Newton Democratic Committee, February 12, 2004.
12. "The War on Terror Comes Home: Bioweapons Research in Boston."* April 4, 2004, Hyde School Auditorium, co-sponsored with First Unitarian Society of Newton Social Action Committee and the Justice with Peace Task Force of Watertown Citizens for Environmental Safety.

13. "Aftermath: Bosnia's Long Road to Peace." *Slide show and talk by photojournalist Sara Terry, Newton Free Library, May 3, 2004.
14. "An Alternative View from Kurdistan and Iraq,"* Grey Osterud, June 13, 2004.
15. "Remembering the Atomic Bombings of August, 1945." Vigil on Saturday, August 7, 2004, and a film showing *Hiroshima: The Legacy* and "Thinking about the Bomb," talk by Prof. Gerald Herman, August 7, 2004*
16. "The Israel-Palestinian Conflict: What Should the Next U.S. President Do?" *Naomi Chasan, Newton Library, October 4, 2004.
17. Rep. Barney Frank, "Post-Election. Where Do We Go From Here?" * Nov. 14, 2004.
18. "What Time is It for the Peace Movement?"* Mike Prokosch and Cynthia Peters, December 12, 2004.
19. "The Great Religious Divide," *The political-religious crisis in our nation. Rev. John Buehrens of the First Parish in Needham, January 9, 2005.
20. "Iraqi Veterans Speak Out."* Co-sponsored with other groups. Held in Watertown. February 4, 2005.
21. "Is U.S. Biodefense Policy Making Us Safer?"* Dr. Lynn Klotz, Feb. 13, 2005.
22. "A Declaration of Moral Outrage.* Evening of discussion to launch a drive to engage the whole community in a statement of outrage at the war of occupation in Iraq.
23. "The Israel-Palestinian Conflict: Where are We Now?"* A dialogue between an Israeli and a Palestinian, July, 2005.
24. "The View of Washington from Asia." Patwant Singh, June, 2005, Hyde School.
25. "Being Muslim in America,"* with members of the Islam Society of Boston, Sept.11, 2005.
26. "Military Recruiting in the Public Schools," *Bill Sweet, AFSC, Oct. 16, 2005.
27. "Weapons of Mass Destruction & Internat'l Law." * Michael Donlan, Nov.13, 2005.
28. "Cuba: A Report on a Nearby but Distant Neighbor," Jane Crosby and Marty Schotz, January 8, 2006.
29. "Let's Establish a Mandate for Universal Access,"* Dr. John Goodson, MA Health Care Campaign, speaking on the proposed Health Care Amendment, March 12, 2006.
30. "Torture and Human Rights,"* Dr. Michael Grodin, Director, Boston Center for Refugee Health and Rights, Newton Free Library, March 29, 2006, co-sponsored with the Newton Human Rights Commission.
31. "Impact of the War in our communities" with Neighbor to Neighbor, April 9, 2006.
32. Special Mother's Day Program, songs and poetry on the steps of Newton City Hall, May 14, 2006*.
33. "Focus on Iran," special panel co-sponsored with Newton City Democratic Committee, Progressive Democrats, and Democracy for America, June 11, 2006.
34. "Domestic Surveillance: How it affects our Civil Liberties" *Carl Takei, MCLU, June 21, 2006.
35. John Bonifaz, candidate for Massachusetts Secretary of State, "The Case for Impeaching George W. Bush." Sunday, July 9, 2006. (This talk led to a petition circulated by NDPW, "Vote to Impeach." See Folder #4 of photos.

36. "Crisis in the Middle East," * The War Between Israel, Hezbollah, Lebanon, and Palestine. A panel discussion featuring, Anat Biletzki, Seth Brysk, Naila Jirmanus, and Henry Munson, September 10, 2006.
37. Phone calls to support Democrat candidate for Congress from CT, October, 2006.
38. "The Human Cost of the War in Iraq" * John Tirman, Exec. Director of MIT's Center for International Studies. December 10, 2006.
39. Town Meeting: "The War in Iraq: What Now?" January 14, 2007
40. John Bonifaz, 2006 candidate for MA Sec. of State and Aitya Dangleben from Mass Vote: "The Fight to Make Sure Every Vote Counts,"* February 11, 2007.
41. Nancy Murray, Director of Education, ACLU of MA, Eliot Church: "Reclaiming our Civil Liberties."* March 11, 2007.
42. "What's Happening at Guantanamo? Why should we care?" April 4, 2007. Talk by Doris Tennant and Ellen Lubell, *pro bono* Newton lawyers for an inmate at Guantanamo.

Demonstrations, petitions and actions:

- Circulated a petition to oppose the Iraq invasion, fall, 2002.
- Held an information table at the Newton Harvest and Spring Fests, and Newton Highland's Village Day for several years.
- Participated in the November 3, 2002, anti-war rally in Boston.
- Participated in multi-town, anti-war protest, January 18, 2003.
- In 2002-2003 distributed Martin Luther King's *Silence is Betrayal** speech, given at the Riverside Church in New York City, April 4, 1967.
- Created a leaflet of peace quotations and MLK stickers*, distributed to several Newton churches, weeks of January 12 and 19, 2003.
- Distributed two booklets of peace quotations* at Martin Luther King, Jr. Newton observances, January 20, 2003, prior to the March, 2003, invasion and often at the Thursday vigil.
- Organized three busses [150 people] to the New York demonstration against the invasion of Iraq; February 15, 2003*.
- Participated in Newton Interfaith Service for Peace*, March 2, 2003.
- Raised over \$3000 to publish a full page anti-war ad in the Newton TAB, March 2003.
- Organized local candlelight vigil (over 1000 people) on the Newton Green, Sunday, March 16, 2003, just prior to the U.S. invasion of Iraq.
- Participated in the March 29, 2003, anti-war rally in Boston.
- Fund Raisers held in the fall of 2003 and in 2006.*
- Spoke at Newton's Mothers for Peace* gathering on Mother's Day, May 9, 2004
- July, 2004, NDPW Election Action Committee, initiates fund raiser* for national ACT group, working to support defeat of George W. Bush in 2004 election.
- Vigils of remembrance held in early August on Newton Green to mark the anniversary of the Hiroshima-Nagasaki bombings.

- Presented a **Peace Petition*** with 1000 signatures to Newton Mayor David Cohen, November 1, 2004.
- Supported a variety of letter-writing efforts to encourage voting in the 2004 election.
- Voter registration tables held at Newton Spring Fest and every week at the Newton Farmers' Market. Over 300 people registered.
- Letter to Mayor David Cohen (2005)*, urging that high school students and parents be made aware of their right to opt-out of having their personal information sent to military recruiters. NDPW wanted to make students aware that this practice is a little known feature of the federal No Child Left Behind Act of 2001.
- Organized local vigil* to mark the second anniversary of the Iraq invasion, March 19, 2005.
- Urged Mayor David Cohen to declare Nuclear Disarmament Day in Newton, August 6, 2005* See the Proclamation itself in the Appendix.
- Created and circulated the *Declaration of Moral Outrage* Petition* 2006 and sent it to Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld*.
- Supported petition campaign in Newton to put on the *Withdrawal from Iraq** question on the ballot, February, 2006.
- Candlelight vigil with 120 people, January 11, 2007, to protest “surge” of new troops in Iraq.
- Organized Town Meeting, “The War in Iraq: What Now?”* January 14, 2007
- Organized fund Raiser for Newton attorneys Doris Tennant and Ellen Lobell, who were volunteering to represent a detainee at Guantanamo. This event was held at the Newton Free Public Library, April 4, 2007.* In the Appendix can be found also a letter from Tennant and Lubell explaining their defense of Guantanamo detainee, Abdul Aziz Naji and a list of *Top 10 Myths about Guantanamo Bay*.
- Supported statewide campaign to set a specific date for withdrawal from Iraq. See correspondence with Senator Edward Kennedy, October, 2008.*

Workshops:

- “War and the Economy,” workshop conducted by Mike Prokosch from United for a Fair Economy, May 4, 2003.
- “Changing Confrontation into Dialogue,” *workshop by Peg Senturia, December 14, 2003.
- Martin Luther King Day Workshop* for members to take stock: January 19, 2004
- Letter writing election workshop, October, 2004
- December, 2004, training for peace work, with Mike Prokosch and Cynthia from United for Justice with Peace group in Boston.
- MLK -Workshop/retreat* to plan future activities: January 16, 2006
- Workshop meeting devoted to issues related to proposed immediate U.S. withdrawal from Iraq, February 12, 2006. Summary* provided.

Film Showings:

Many of these films were fund-raisers for NDPW. In some cases, we rented the use of the West Newton Cinema. These events drew large audiences and consisted of a film followed by group discussion.

- *Uncovered: The Truth About the War in Iraq** a film by Robert Greenwald, shown at the West Newton Cinema, March 2004.
- *Unprecedented: 2000 Election** May 13, 2004. Fund raiser for ACT, supporting voter education in the “swing states.” Shown at the West Newton Cinema and co-sponsored with Brookline Peaceworks.
- *Outfoxed: The Fox News Story* Shown at the Klein-Strauss home, July 2004.
- *You Can't be Neutral on a Moving Train** Howard Zinn's story, West Newton Cinema, January 25, 2005. Howard Zinn was present for this film and discussion.
- *The Revolution will not be Televised** Venezuelan coup attempt, West Newton Cinema. The speaker was Rev. Mike Clark, pastor of St. John's Church in Watertown. The film and talk were enriched by the presence of Venezuelans with different political views in our audience.
- *Unconstitutional: The War on Civil Liberties*, moderated by Charles Baron, Professor of Law, Boston College Law School. Held at West Newton Cinema, March 2, 2005.
- *Why We Fight** May 31, 2006. Film focusing on the military-industrial complex. Held at the West Newton Cinema and honoring Dr. and Mrs. Bernard Lown.
- *Anat's Children*, film about the plight of Palestinian refugees, Eliot Church.
- *Knowledge is the Beginning,** film describing founding of a youth orchestra by Daniel Barenboim and Edward Said that is made up of Israeli Jews and Arabs, June 11, 2007.

Other Actions:

- Created brochure 2003 for distribution, *Dialogue on Peace and War**
- Created statement of reasons for opposing war in Iraq.
- Distributed list of “Things You Can Do.”* 2003
- Created Newton Dialogues on Peace and War buttons, response cards, and bumper stickers,* 2003-2004.
- “Making the Case for Leaving Iraq,”* 2006
- Distributed information on “Out of Iraq” bills in Congress* and contact numbers for congressional representatives.
- Awarded *Peace and Justice Awards*: 2003 to Howard Zinn, in 2004 to Dr. Bernard Lown and Louise Lown, and in 2005 to Alice Aronow—specifically for her creation of hundreds of posters for the weekly peace vigil. Alice created a cottage industry of poster making in her own home. She gave a face to NDPW's presence at the vigil and other protests.
- Visited Senators Kennedy and Kerry, urging opposition to war on Iraq.
- Formed a committee to study the threats to our civil rights posed by the USA Patriot Act of 2001.

- Local actions to support inclusion of “Mosaic” programming on NEWTV that would reflect Arabic reality.
- Set up a table at the Newton Free Library every Saturday and for several years there, distributed NDPW material, statements about peace, and entering into challenging conversations about the invasion and the policies of our government.

Presentations to local groups: Several people within NDPW took responsibility for outreach. Among them were Octo Barnett, Dick Sterne, Prasannan Parasarathy, Susan Mirsky, and Linda and Steve Nathanson.

- Needham Council on Aging Current Events Group, Stephen Palmer Senior Center*
- Coalition for a Strong UN, Newton chapter
- Eliot Church Outreach Committee
- Lasell Village Association – two different presentations
- Newton Clergy Association
- Our Lady, Help of Christians*, Committee on Social Justice
- Needham Interfaith Committee
- Weston Dialogues on War and Peace (modeled after our group)
- Newton South High School program (2002)
- Newton League of Women Voters
- Newton Senior Center
- Newton South High School (2003)
- Unitarian-Universalist Society of Newton, *Community Service for Peace*, 9/11/06

Committees:

Below are listed some of the committees within NDPW. Some are on-going, some were created for a particular project.

- Working Group – meeting once a month, beginning in 2001 and ongoing. This group was key to organizing events.
- Creating and maintaining the Web page
- Israel/Palestine issues
- Opposing Military Recruiting in the Schools
- Legislative Action Committee
- Media Outreach Committee
- NEWTV interviewing program
- *Alternative News* staff
- USA Patriot Act
- Artists
- Election 2004
- Saturday Tabling Group, with petitions, and information sheets at an outside table at the Newton Free Public Library

Social events:

- Potluck Dinner, February 2, 2003
- Picnic for members, July 6, 2003
- Potluck dinner to welcome Camilo Mejia, an Iraqi veteran, now war resister.

Musical and theatrical events:

- Mystic Chorale Concert and Poetry Reading by Lloyd Schwartz, Fund Raiser,* June 6, 2004
- Folk Sing Honoring Pete Seeger's 83rd birthday, May 2005.
- *Guantanamo: Honor Bound to Defend Freedom**, public reading, December 11, 2005, performed in the sanctuary of the Eliot Church in Newton Corner. The program brochure is included in the Appendix and the script itself can be found in Folder #1, hard copy located at the Newton Jackson Homestead. The play was created and originally performed by the Tricycle theatre company in England.
- NDPW held song fests, and songs were sung at multiple events*



Songs were frequently part of NDPW activities. Here are Dan Shaw playing the guitar, Steve Nathanson on the recorder, Sev Bruyn and Octo Barnett singing with others. Sherry Moore stands to the right. On the bench and standing to the left are Susan Mirsky Ena Lorant, Rhona Shoul, and Martha Penzer. Sarah Barnett is seated on the blanket.

Some of NDPW's activities were educational, some were participatory. All of them energized those who planned them, and most provoked thoughtful reactions among the participants.

Two Peace Booklets

1. **Martin Luther King, Jr., *Reflections on Peace and War*.** This booklet was distributed at the City of Newton's MLK service on January 21, 2003, at Temple Shalom in an effort to rouse protest against the coming invasion of Iraq. The booklet contains statements on peace from Dwight Eisenhower, Mohandas Gandhi, Martin Luther King, Jr., and from the Books of Deuteronomy and Matthew.

2. **NDPW *A Dialogue on Peace and War*.** Like the MLK brochure, except that it contained more direct appeals for peace from the families of 9/11 victims. Created in 2002 and circulated thereafter at the vigil and at public talks.

REFLECTIONS ON PEACE AND WAR

The threat of war hangs over our world at this moment. May we remember the wisdom of Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. in



earlier crises in our history. May we remember his message of non-violence and the importance of speaking out in a democracy.

"A time comes when silence is betrayal. Even when pressed by the demands of inner truth, men do not easily assume the task of opposing their government's policy, especially in time of war...[but] If we do not act, we shall surely be dragged down the long, dark, and shameful corridors of time reserved for those who possess power without compassion, might without morality, and strength without sight."

—Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., 1967

Newton Dialogues on Peace and War

We hold a peace vigil every Thursday evening from 5 to 6 P.M. at the corner of Beacon and Centre Streets.

These page booklets were created and circulated in Newton early in 2003 and thereafter. On the back page of each booklet were provided a brief summary of the goals of Newton Dialogues, as well as contact information for government officials. Both booklets in full can be found in the Appendix.

Notes from the Working Group and Announcements at the Monthly Meeting

We've said that the Internet was key to creating NDPW, but old-fashioned written notes kept it together and growing. Minutes of the Working (planning) Group (WG) were sent by e-mail to the 6 to 10 people who met every month to plan programs for the larger group, the monthly Sunday evening meetings, as well as speakers and films for the whole community.

In addition, at every regular Sunday meeting hard copies of Announcements of events (NDPW's and other groups) were distributed to the audience.

For years Linda Nathanson sent weekly email letters were sent to the entire distribution list, with announcements and information about NDPW events and other groups' events.

Samples of the Working Group minutes and the monthly Announcements are contained in Notebooks 2 and 3, available at the Jackson Homestead, 527 Washington St., Newton.

We usually drew from 30 to 40 people at Sunday meetings and passed the hat to collect money to cover rental of the space in the Eliot Church.

Declaration of Moral Outrage

In 2005 NDPW launched a campaign called, "A Declaration of Moral Outrage."* The hope was that this statement would create a national movement of outrage. A petition was created, signed by hundreds of people, and given to Newton Mayor Cohen and sent in March, 2006, to Secretary of Defense, Donald Rumsfeld. All relevant documents---the initiative in 2005, the petition the following year with its explanation, the letter to Secretary Rumsfeld, and the Press Release to the *Newton Tab*-- may be found in the Appendix, along with the Declaration itself.

Below is the text of the **Declaration of Moral Outrage** that NDPW created and circulated in the years 2005-2006.

We are outraged at the illegal and immoral invasion and occupation of Iraq.

We are outraged at the fraudulent justification for the war and the lies and propaganda that the government uses to sustain it.

Continued...

Our government and armed forces are committing war crimes and crimes against humanity: torture of prisoners, wanton killing civilians, destruction of cities, and massive displacement of populations. We are outraged by these crimes and ashamed that they are being done in our name.

We are outraged that the Bush administration exhibits callous disregard for the lives and well being of our soldiers and their families.

We are outraged at Bush administration's stated intention to exploit Iraqi oil resources to pay for the cost of the war and occupation. Control over their natural resources belongs to the peoples and sovereign government of Iraq. *See continuation on following page*

The war impoverished the peoples of Iraq and destroyed the physical and cultural fabric of their country. The United States should pay for what it has destroyed.

We are outraged that the Bush administration is squandering our public resources to fund this war of occupation.

Each day the war goes on prolongs the moral wrong. It was wrong to send our troops to Iraq and it is wrong to keep them there. The possibility of a political solution is fading rapidly as the war of occupation continues.

This war, which violates principles and values that we hold dear, must be brought to an end.

We will not be silenced by the government's fear-mongering about terrorism and national security.

We are signing our names as testimony to our moral commitment to turn our nation away from pre-emptive, unilateral wars and rejoin the community of peace loving peoples throughout the world.

Newton Dialogues Committee Members

The Working Group 2001 – 2005 (roughly)

Octo Barnett	Allan Rubin
Faye Snider	Louise Bruyn
Dick Sterne	Sarah Barnett
Linda Nathanson	Diane Price
Steve Nathanson	Susan Mirsky
Judith Hudson	Dan Shaw
Prasannan Parthasarathi	Dave Ascher

Alternative Views Newsletter

Dick Sterne, Editor
Barbara Flanagan
Allan Rubin
Brita Gill-Austern
Daniela Bartallesi-Graf
Sev Bruyn

Frank Propp
Jamie Murdock
John Goode
Lisa Schumann
Peter Metz

USA Patriot Act Resolution to bring to Newton Board of Aldermen

Octo Barnett
Steve Linsky
Dan Shaw
*Prasannan Parthasarathi

Tony Winsor
Joselyn Almeida

Art (sign making, etc.)

Alice Aronow
Emma Vesey
*Sherry Moore
Jane Brown
Amanda Hegarty

Election 2004

*Liz Cody
Alfonso Figueroa
Erika Wilton
Faye Snider
Margo Cantor

Meta Nisbet
Rohna Shoul
David Rolde
Marilyn Sicurella
Kathy Knight

Media Committee

*Ginny Robinson
Paula Chasan
Ann Regan
Chris Gruener

Mark Brodin
Greg MacGowan
Marilyn Bentov

Outreach to schools

Susan Mirsky
*Maxine Hart
Janet Moran Figueroa
Diane Price

Sue Dorfman
Lisa Schumann
Barbara Duellmann-McKee

Outreach to veterans

Sev Bruyn

Events Planning Committee

Barbara Duellmann-McKee
Emma Vesey

Speakers Bureau (as of 3/2003)

*Prasanna Parthasarathi
Marilyn Sicurella
Andre Sheldon
Mark Brodin
Kathy Knight

Peace Information Tabling on Saturdays (Newton Free Library rear entrance)

Ginny Robinson	Freda Rebelsky
Ann Regan	Jane Brown
Edie Propp	Dan Shaw
Libby Gerlach	*Allan Rubin
Marty Schotz	Jerry Manning
Prasannan Parthasarathi	Eleanor MacLellan
Ros Winsor	Donna LaMontagne
Sherry Moore	Julia Herskowitz

NewTV Peace Programming

Barbara Flanagan	Joan Ecklein
Dan Fitzmartin	Erika Walton
Sherry Moore	Liz Cody
Doris Tennant	

Faneuil Hall Events

*Peter Metz
Jamie Murdock
Alfonso Figueroa

Harvest Fair in Newton Center, NDPW has a regular table



Susan Mirsky and Doris Tennant answering questions at Newton Harvest Fair



Susan Mirsky's cookies. We created buttons to wear to events and a bumper sticker for our cars. Steve Nathanson designed the button, and a friend of Ann Regan made them.

Further summary of Newton Dialogues' 2001 – 2007 activities

- Circulated peace petition with 1000 signatures to Mayor Cohen, 2004
- Created and circulated Declaration of Moral Outrage, 2004-2005
- Requested immediate resolution for withdrawal date, 2006 Petition to Rumsfeld
- Organized many Mother's Day peace programs with songs
- Created a NDPW peace brochure, January, 2003
- Created and publicized Withdrawal from Iraq document, 2004
- Mobilization to End the War in Iraq, October, 2007
- Outreach to other peace and community groups: United for Justice with Peace (and through them links with 60 peace groups throughout the Boston area), League of Women Voters, Newton Democrats, Newton Clergy, Sherborn Peace Abbey, Progressive Democrats, Council for a Livable World, Coalition for a Strong U.N. American Friends Service Committee, American Civil Liberties Union, Friends Committee on National Legislation, Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, Progressive Democrats of America, Bill of Rights Defense Committee, Massachusetts Coalition for Healthy Communities, United for a Fair Economy.
- Supported and promoted efforts of members like Marty Shotz's program on Cuba, Linda Stern's showing a film at her home on immigrants from Mexico (2006), and Ann Regan's fund raising idea of selling Sergio Lub (2006) bracelets, engraved with the word "peace" in different languages

What did Newton Dialogues contribute to the Peace Effort?

Asked this question, participants and members have offered the following answers:

- Dick Sterne has described it as an "antidote to despair."
- It provided a place where people could bring their ideas and programs.
- It became a point of focus for the community.
- We provided a model for peace group action for other communities. (Judith Hudson)
- We circulated a once-a-week email letter to a roster of nearly 1000 names, announcing events in our group and in other groups around Boston. We could not have organized as quickly and effectively otherwise.

Comments from NDPW members

Dan Shaw: NDPW gave a sense of support and camaraderie...a place to express our outrage. I wasn't a lone voice. The people in NDPW sharpened my thinking. People contributed different pieces of the puzzle. For the larger community we were a *visible presence* for people who were upset at what was going on. We articulated early on what became clear to people later.

We reached hundreds of people through the weekly vigil, the weekly tabling, the vigil to mark the Hiroshima bombing, and all the educational meetings. We were willing to be out there and talk.

Personally, I was the "man with the van." I brought the folding table to the tabling at the Newton Library, I made the easel that we used at the vigil to post weekly count of Iraqi citizen and American military dead and injured.

Through the vigils, the tabling, monthly programs, weekly emails, and our website, Newton Dialogues was a tremendous presence in Newton.

Doris Tennant: "I felt grounded here with Newton Dialogues. I valued the sense of dialogue communicated by some members.

One of my most vivid experiences with NDPW was making videos with two other members, for NewTV. We created six half-hour programs called "What Matters" on which we interviewed fairly well-known people about the Iraq war and U.S. government policies.

Taking part in the public reading of *Guantanamo* opened my eyes to what was taking place there. Afterwards, my law partner and I began the process of getting clearance to represent a prisoner there, which we did from 2007 to the point then he was sent back to Algeria. NDPW held two fund raisers to publicize our work and to raise money to help us. Nearly \$2000 was raised from the contacts created by these events.

I was so impressed, it was so exciting to be part of a community who cared so much, who were willing to question authority, who cared to make things better."

Dick Sterne: The weekly vigil was key to NDPW's visibility in the community. Also key were the monthly meetings and our outreach to other communities and to Newton groups. NDPW was an antidote to despair.

Judith Hudson:

I had just moved to Newton. Bush was making me crazy. I saw all these people standing with signs in Newton Center, and then I read about the vigil in the *Newton Tab*. I got active pretty quickly and helped in organizing the three busses that went to the protest in New York City in February, 2003.

It was so valuable to find a community of people who were taking action. NDPW was being vigilant in the world; it gave me remarkable energy. I was doing something and not just yelling at the TV.

The vigil was important because it reminded people of what was going on. Because we were there on the street corner every Thursday, it brought the world home, even momentarily. People were doing this around the country, reminding others that not everyone was going to be railroaded. People thanked us for protesting our government's outrageous behavior."

Sev and Louise Bruyn: Being part of Newton Dialogues was cathartic for us. It allowed people to express where they stood and to have some integrity. Everyone shared their skills. Making signs, poems, songs, organizing Hiroshima Day, petitioning, standing in the vigil. The group brought out the individuality of its members.

Committing ourselves to having a meeting every month meant that we had to plan events; people are coming, we've got to do something! Newton Dialogues was a natural outcropping of outrage and concern. NDPW created a place where we could get together and express these things."

Steve Nathanson: When we began meeting shortly after the 9/11 attacks, we never dreamt that we would do as much as we did in the years that followed. Looking back, I remember realizing the power of "one thing leads to another." Once we ran one program, then another, this led to ideas about what more to do, and the more we did, the more confident we became about our own ability to do yet more. It's a good lesson for people facing mammoth problems that make us feel hopeless.

Of course, we did not stop the war, but we did what we could. And, you never know, starting by doing one thing may lead to success and real change. As Howard Zinn wrote, "Small acts, when multiplied by millions of people, can transform the world."

In the period from 2001 to 2007 Newton Dialogues became a channel for the outrage of citizens against policies of their government and a source of information for a large group of Newton residents and residents of other communities as well.

In the years following 2007 Newton Dialogues continued to hold a vigil and arrange for speakers and participate in protests. Below is a partial list of activities from 2007 to 2016:

NDPW Activities from 2007 – 2016

2007

- Held vigil to mark the death of 3,000 U.S. soldiers in Iraq, January, 2007
- Organized a Town Meeting on the War in Iraq, Sunday, January, 2007
- Organized meeting: Guantanamo and Torture: *Confronting Our National Nightmare*, January, 2007
- Meeting: *Preserving Democracy: The Fight to Make Sure Every Vote Counts*,” John Bonifaz and Atiya Dangleben, February, 2007
- Meeting: *What’s Going on at Guantanamo and Why Should We Care?*” Newton attorneys Ellen Lubell and Doris Tennant, March, 2007
- Petition to stop the BU Bio Lab, March, 2007
- Vigil to mark 4th anniversary of Iraq invasion, March 2007
- Newton Dialogues Mothers’ Day sing, May 2007
- Special Vigil to protest Bush veto of legislation calling for troop withdrawals from Iraq, May, 2007.
- Film: *Knowledge is the Beginning*, June, 2007.
- Table at Newton Highlands Village Day, June, 2007
- NDPW resolution opposing construction of BU Bio Lab is passed by the Newton Board of Aldermen, June 2007.
- Hiroshima/Nagasaki Remembrance, July 2007.
- Forum on Iran’s Nuclear Programs: What are they doing? How should the U.S. Respond? June, 2007
- Crisis in the Middle East: The War between Israel, Hezbollah, Lebanon, and Palestine, September, 2007

2008

- Meeting: Scott Ritter The Iran Talks, Tuesday, February, 2008
- Newton Board of Aldermen pass NDPW sponsored resolution to withdraw from Iraq, February, 2008.
- Vigil and Winter Soldier: Fifth Anniversary of Invasion of Iraq and Afghanistan, March 2008.
- Newton lawyers, Doris Tennant and Ellen Lubell, speak about Guantanamo and Supreme Court Decision, June 2008
- Commemoration of Hiroshima and Nagasaki bombings, August 6, 2008
- Petition* “Million Doors for Peace” to set a date for withdrawal from Iraq, presented by NDPW to Senator Edward Kennedy, September, 2008.

2009

- “Restoring our Rights,” Nancy Murray, ACLU, February, 2009
- Hosted Combatants for Peace on Boston tour, March, 2009
- Sixth anniversary of invasion of Iraq, vigil in Watertown Square, March, 2009.
- Senator Barney Frank speaks on “Cutting the Military Budget,” April, 2009
- “Prospects for Peace for Israel and Palestine,” co-sponsored with the Newton Human Rights Commission, April, 2009.4
- “Guantanamo, into the Seventh Year,” Doris Tennant and Ellen Lubell, Newton Library, June, 2009.
- Commemoration of Hiroshima and Nagasaki bombings, August, 2009.
- “The Different Drummer,” Howard Zinn and others, fundraiser at home of Freda Rebelsky, to raise money for the GI Rights coffeehouse at Fort Drum, NY, October, 2009.
- “The War in Afghanistan,” an Afghan woman’s perspective, October 2009.
- “25% Resolution,” calling for cuts in military spending, passed by Newton Board of Aldermen, October 2009.
- “Gaza—One Year Later”, talk by Noam Chomsky, December, 2009.

2010

- “Update on Iraq” speaker, Raed Jarrar, January, 2010
- “Pakistan and the War on Terror: A Pakistani perspective,” talk by Nadeem Afridi, MD., a Pakistani-American cardiologist, February, 2010.
- “Palestinian Nonviolent Resistance,” talk by Mazin Qumsiyeh, co-sponsored with Watertown Citizens for Environmental Safety, March, 2010.
- Forum: “How can We Promote Civil Discourse about Israel-Palestine in Newton?” June, 2010.

2011

- Meeting: Charles Derber speaking on “*Greed to Green: Solving Climate Change and Remaking the Economy*,” January, 2011.
- Meeting: Coffee discussion about the U.S. budget, March, 2011.
- Co-sponsored book talk: “African Women Writing Resistance” led by Anne Serafin, March, 2011.
- Meeting: Federal Government Oppression of Muslims, June, 2011.

2012

- Meeting: “Current Developments in Iraq,” Raed Jarrar, speaker, January, 2012.
- Meeting: “Fund our Communities, not War.” Rep. Barney Frank, March, 2012.

2013

- Discussion, house meeting on Domestic Surveillance, May 2013.
- Petition drive to put resolution on the ballot, “Budget for All,” Summer, 2013.
- Discussion, house meeting on Terrorism, September, 2013.
- Discussion, house meeting on Economic Inequality, December, 2013.
-

2014

- Continuation of discussion, house meeting, on Economic Inequality: What can we do about it? March, 2014.
- Public meeting and discussion: Louise Bryun reading from her new book, *She Walked for all of Us*, April 2014.
- Petition drive to put the question on the Newton ballot to “Close the Pilgrim Nuclear Power Plant. The petition, summer, 2014, was successful and was followed by the Newton City Council’s approval of a Resolution to close the Pilgrim Power plant, September, 2014.
- Public meeting with Dr. Helen Caldicott, “Facing our Nuclear Responsibilities,” September, 2014.
- Discussion, house meeting, “U.S. Policy in Syria and Iraq and the War on ISIS, December, 2014.

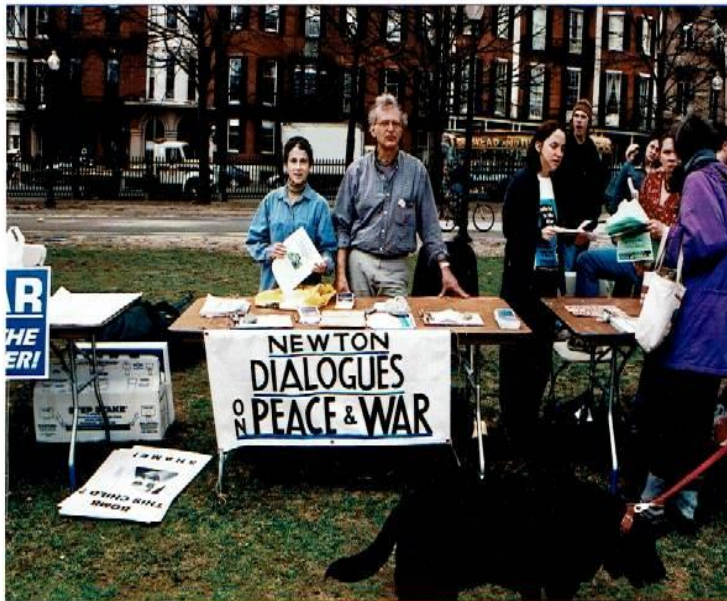
2015

- Public meeting, “The Ukraine Crisis: Origins of the Conflict and Prospects for Peace” September, 2015.

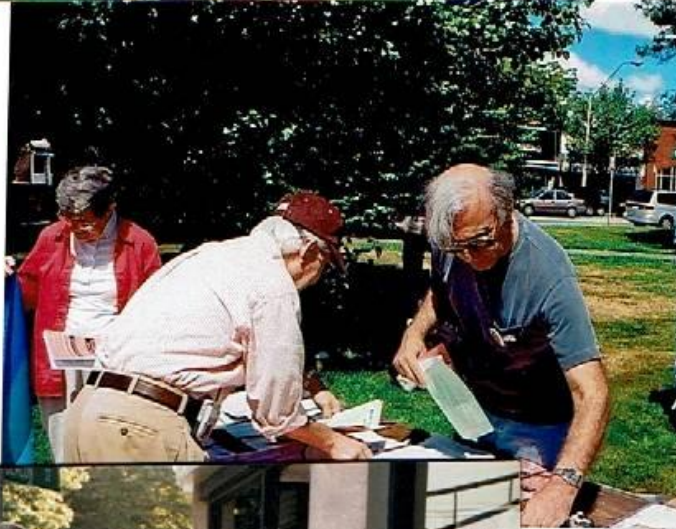
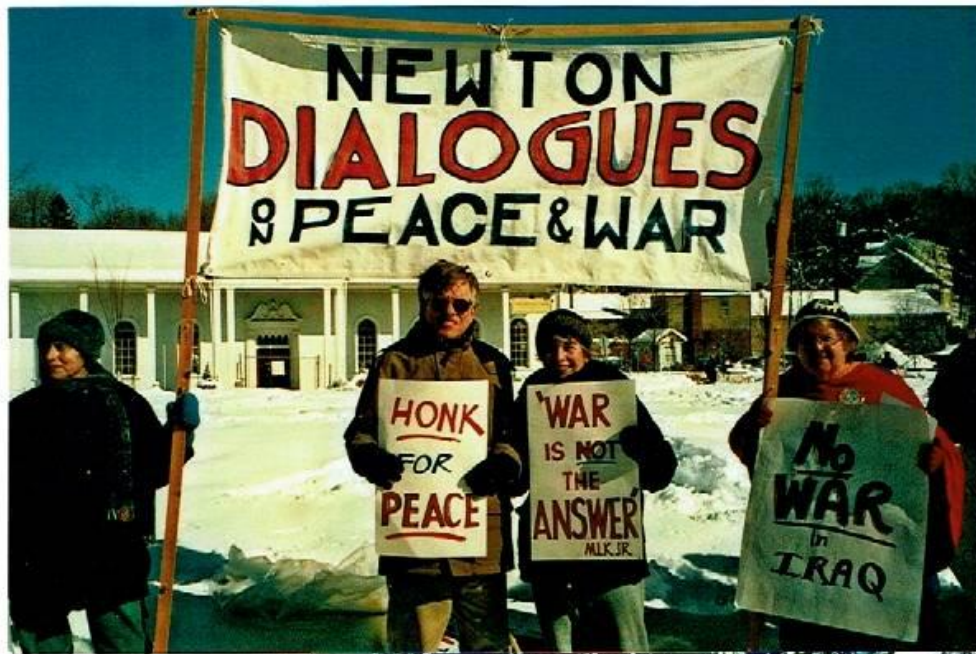
2016

- Discussion, house meeting, “Israel/Palestine Update,” January, 2016.

Collage of Photos and Articles







Anti-war sentiment mounts 2003



About 350 people from Newton Dialogues on Peace and War and other area anti-war groups gathered Saturday in Watertown Square to protest the threat of war against Iraq.

Peace vigil sparks mixed reactions 2002

Newton residents rally against possible war versus Iraq

By Ryan Kearney
STAFF WRITER

The protesters were standing in a slight drizzle during rush hour, holding signs reading "No war in Iraq" and "No U.S. preemptive strike." Some of them handed out pamphlets on the street corner, while others chatted with each other and passersby.

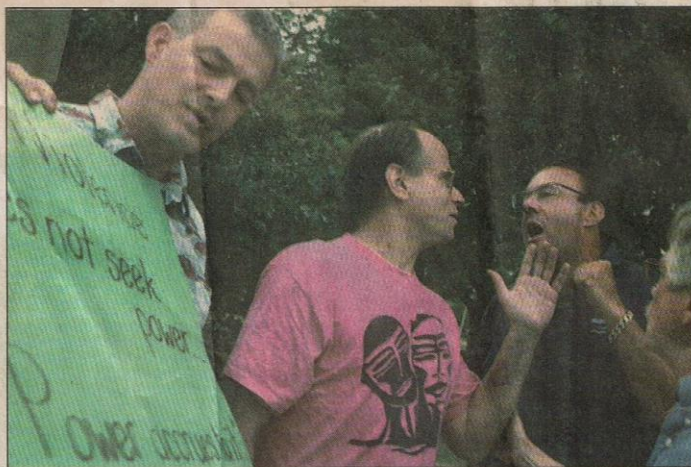
It was, indeed, a peaceful protest.

A tall, burly man changed all that. He pushed one of the protesters, sending the smaller man back several feet and nearly into a busy intersection. The aggressor, who didn't give his name, also shouted epithets at the dozen or so people gathered, including a few older women.

Some threatened to call the police on him.

"Here's the number — nine-one-one," the man replied.

The protesters were members of Newton Dialogues on Peace and War, and had gathered at Beacon and Centre streets in Newton Centre for a what they called a "vigil"



A man who refused to give his name yells at demonstrators in Newton Centre last week.

against a possible war against Iraq.

Last week wasn't their first demonstration — they've been protesting every Thursday since mid-July — but they say it was the first time they've experienced a violent backlash.

Doug Sherman, the man who was pushed, said that not since 1965 had he been physically attacked during a protest.

Highlands resident Susan Mirsky, a mem-

PROTEST, page 10

Letter to the woman in the red car

Dear Woman in the Red Car:

Each Thursday night, as I stand in the Newton Dialogues' peace vigil in Newton Center, you drive by around 5:15 p.m. and yell at us. You always yell the same thing, "What about 9/11? What about 9/11?" You are

GUEST COMMENTARY

LINDA NATHANSON

angry and upset, and I would like to talk with you, but you drive by, and I cannot respond.

Since you and I are unlikely to have a "real" conversation, I am writing this letter to answer your heartfelt protest of our opposition to a war on Iraq. I want to address your question "What about 9/11?"

First, you and I agree that the terrible attack on our country needs a response. After a violent crime of such magnitude, no one disputes the need to pursue the perpetrators and to think about

ways to deal with the threat of terrorism.

There is no clear evidence, however, that Iraq had anything to do with the 9/11 attack. Most of the actual perpetrators came from Saudi Arabia, yet our government has managed to shift the focus to Saddam Hussein. It is as if one bully beat up someone in the playground, and because that bully is out of reach, we decided to punish another one instead. Of course Iraq's president is an evil man. No one questions that. But he is not responsible for the Sept. 11 attack.

Moreover, the whole idea of attacking Saddam Hussein is an illusion. To attack Saddam is to attack Iraq, and to attack Iraq is to attack its people — people like you and me who have no direct control over the actions of their leaders. A war would unleash thousands of weapons that would kill many other people, including many innocent civilians — men, women, and children who have nothing to do with

Saddam Hussein's actions.

In addition, to attack another country that has not attacked us but might be a future threat is unwise. The world is full of possible threats to our country. Who do we attack next? Pakistan has harbored many of the Al-Qaeda who fled Afghanistan and is a heartbeat (President Musharaff's heartbeat) away from being controlled by extremists. Will we go after Pakistan next? North Korea? Syria? Libya?

Pre-emptive attack sets a precedent that many countries may decide to follow. India, for example, might say that Pakistan is a threat to its existence. And Pakistan can say the same of India. Both of them have nuclear weapons. We should not set a precedent that legitimizes preventive wars.

A U.S. attack on Iraq is both unwise and immoral. Initiating war in this region may lead to catastrophe. It will make us less safe rather than more. I am most reminded of the beginning of

World War I. All the great nations thought at the start that war would be quick and easy and over in months. Instead it led to years of war and millions dead. In this world, as opposed to 1914, nuclear weapons are part of the mix and could lead to even more horrific consequences.

I hope you will read this letter because I want you to know that we who oppose an attack on Iraq are not blind to the pain and horror of 9/11. There is simply no evidence that Iraq was involved in that attack.

We began our vigil last July because we believe that the U.S. has no right to attack a sovereign country and kill thousands of its citizens — people who have suffered enough already. Millions of people throughout our country and the world oppose the war for just these reasons, and that's why we're in Newton Center every Thursday night.

Linda Nathanson is a member of Newton Dialogues on Peace and War.

The 'lady in the red car' responds

The following is in response to March 11 guest commentary from Linda Nathanson:

Proudly, I am the "lady in the red car" who voices strong opposition to Ms. Nathanson and her group every week and I would like to set the record straight, as Ms

GUEST COMMENTARY

M. S. REPPUCCI

Nathanson, not surprisingly, misquoted me in her letter. I do not want war... no one wants war. That is not my reason for vocally voicing my opposition.

Every week I remind Ms. Nathanson and her group to "Remember 9/11." She chastised me

in her letter that I was "angry" and that I "yelled at her." I am very vocal every week for one simple reason ... on 9/11, evil terrorists attacked our country, without provocation and 3013 innocent men, women and children were massacred. Since that day the USA has been at war with evil... terrorists who hate us, our way of life, our country and they are attempting to take away the ideals and freedoms we hold dear. The freedoms that Ms. Nathanson and her group enjoy each day.

Am I angry that 3013 people were killed that day? You bet I am. Am I angry that there are hundreds of documents, intelligence information and confirmations from CIA and the Senate Intelligence Committee confirm-

ing that Saddam Hussein is linked to Al-Qaeda, Bin Laden and the 19 terrorists from 9/11? You bet I am. Am I angry that Saddam Hussein has killed his people using weapons of mass destruction? You bet I am.

I want justice for the evil that is threatening our freedom. What would the world be like had we followed Ms Nathanson's "Stop War/ No War" advice and not pursued Adolf Hitler? I believe the outcome would be very different. President Kennedy said it best: "Let every nation know, whether it wishes us well or evil, that we shall pay any price, bear any burden, meet any hardship, support any friend, oppose any foe to assure the survival and success of freedom."

I support our president, our

leaders and our military. I will continue to vocally oppose Ms Nathanson and her group each Thursday, as I will be the voice of the 3013 who cannot speak, but I am concerned for my safety as on 3/11 about 5 or 6 of them came off the sidewalk, surrounded my car, yelling at me while I was waiting for the light on Beacon Street. It was frightening with a three of them actually yelling at me thru the passenger window. God Bless America. It is a compliment to me that I have peaked your anger enough for you to write a letter to the editor. I urge everyone to come out and let this group know that you support our troops and our country.

M. S. Reppucci is a resident of Newell Avenue in Needham.

APPENDIX

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<i>Guantanamo: Honor Bound to Defend Freedom</i> , program from NDPW Public Reading	235A – 236 A

Additional Notebooks and Folders

These materials may be viewed in the Jackson Homestead and Museum, 527 Washington Street, Newton, MA. Phone: 617-796-1450. They are available in hard copy only.

Folder #1	Script of <i>Guantanamo: Honor Bound to Defend Freedom</i> . Reading given by NDPW on Sunday, December 11, 2005.
Notebook #2	NDPW Announcements distributed at monthly meetings, 2003-05
Notebook #3	Early meetings, 2001 – 2002 NDPW Minutes of the Working Group, 2003 - 2007
Folder #4	Photographs
Folder #5	NewTV Interviews by Newton Dialogues members, Doris Tennant and Sherry Moore: “What Matters” (VHS only)
Folder #6	Articles relating to NDPW
Notebook #7	<i>Alternative Views</i> , June 2003 – October 2004

Alternative Views 1A

www.alternative-views.org

Volume 1, Number 1

June 11, 2003

Bush planned Iraq 'regime change' before becoming President

By Neil Mackay

Sunday Herald (Glasgow); 9/15/02

A SECRET blueprint for US global domination reveals that President Bush and his cabinet were planning a premeditated attack on Iraq to secure "regime change" even before he took power in January 2001.

The blueprint, uncovered by the *Sunday Herald*, for the creation of a "global Pax Americana" was drawn up for Dick Cheney (now vice-president), Donald Rumsfeld (defense secretary), Paul Wolfowitz (Rumsfeld's deputy), George W. Bush's younger brother Jeb and Lewis Libby (Cheney's chief of staff). The document, entitled *Rebuilding America's Defences: Strategies, Forces and Resources for a New Century*, was written in September 2000 by the neo-conservative think-tank Project for the New American Century (PNAC).

The plan shows Bush's cabinet intended to take military control of the Gulf region whether or not Saddam

Hussein was in power. It says: "The United States has for decades sought to play a more permanent role in Gulf regional security. While the unresolved conflict with Iraq provides the immediate justification, the need for a substantial American force presence in the Gulf transcends the issue of the regime of Saddam Hussein."

The PNAC document supports a "blueprint for maintaining global US pre-eminence, precluding the rise of a great power rival, and shaping the international security order in line with American principles and interests."

This "American grand strategy" must be advanced for "as far into the future as possible," the report says. It also calls for the US to "fight and decisively win multiple, simultaneous major theatre wars" as a "core mission."

The report describes American armed forces abroad as "the cavalry on the new American frontier." The PNAC blueprint supports an earlier document written by Wolfowitz and Libby that said the US must "discourage advanced in-

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dustrial nations from challenging our leadership or even aspiring to a larger regional or global role."

The PNAC report also:

- refers to key allies such as the UK as "the most effective and efficient means of exercising American global leadership";

(Continued on page 2)

Alternative Views Prospectus

"When, in the Course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitle them, A DECENT RESPECT TO THE OPINIONS OF MANKIND requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation." (The Declaration of Independence, in Congress, July, 1776. Emphasis added.)

In the spirit of the DECENT RESPECT FOR THE OPINIONS OF MANKIND invoked by the Declaration of Independence, Newton Dialogues on Peace and War launches with this issue *Alternative Views*, a print and electronic publication. It will provide you, our subscribers, with a broad spectrum of information and opinion from the United States and other parts of the world. The newspaper will cite, summarize and analyze news reports and editorial commentaries from local and worldwide print, Internet and broadcast sources.

In issues of *Alternative Views*, we'll be asking you, our readers, for feedback on a particular item in our reports. A thoughtful alternative to the mainstream media — controlled by fewer and fewer owners—*Alternative Views* will also be an antidote of candor to the evasions and timorousness of most of the news and opinion sources with which we're all familiar.

Our editorial focus will be on the need for citizens within nations, and nations within the world community, to understand and seek solutions to such fundamental problems as

- the enormous gap between the material wealth and relative security of a small number of people, and the hunger, malnutrition, disease, inadequate education and bleak future of the majority;
- the unfair denial to many groups of people of basic human and civil rights;
- the imperial ambitions of the United States and its recently asserted right — in defiance of the United Nations charter — to wage preemptive wars.

The editors of *Alternative Views* seek a world where social justice becomes a foundation of long-lasting peace.

(Continued from page 1)

- describes peace-keeping missions as “demanding American political leadership rather than that of the United Nations”;
- reveals worries in the administration that Europe could rival the USA;
- says “even should Saddam pass from the scene” bases in Saudi Arabia and Kuwait will remain permanently -- despite domestic opposition in the Gulf regimes to the stationing of US troops -- as “Iran may well prove as large a threat to US interests as Iraq has”;
- spotlights China for “regime change” saying “it is time to increase the presence of American forces in southeast Asia.” This, it says, may lead to “American and allied power providing the spur to the process of democratization in China”;

- calls for the creation of “US Space Forces,” to dominate space, and the total control of cyberspace to prevent “enemies” using the internet against the US;
- hints that, despite threatening war against Iraq for developing weapons of mass destruction, the US may consider developing biological weapons -- which the nation has banned -- in decades to come. It says: “New methods of attack -- electronic, ‘non-lethal,’ biological -- will be more widely available ... combat likely will take place in new dimensions, in space, cyberspace, and perhaps the world of microbes ... advanced forms of biological warfare that can ‘target’ specific genotypes may transform biological warfare from the realm of terror to a politically useful tool”;
- and pinpoints North Korea, Libya, Syria and Iran as dangerous regimes

and says their existence justifies the creation of a “world-wide command-and-control system.”

Tam Dalyell, the Labour MP, father of the House of Commons and one of the leading rebel voices against war with Iraq, said: “This is garbage from right-wing think-tanks stuffed with chicken-hawks -- men who have never seen the horror of war but are in love with the idea of war. Men like Cheney, who were draft-dodgers in the Vietnam war.

“This is a blueprint for US world domination -- a new world order of their making. These are the thought processes of fantasist Americans who want to control the world. I am appalled that a British Labour Prime Minister should have got into bed with a crew which has this moral standing.”

<http://www.sundayherald.com/27735>

U.S. Detainment of Children at Guantanamo Violates UN Convention

A few children of unknown nationality between the ages of 13 and 16 are being detained at the U.S. detention camp at Guantanamo Bay. A U.S. military official told the *Guardian* [London], on condition of anonymity, that three boys age 13 to 15 are among the 660 prisoners taken during the Afghan war. In addition, Canadian officials said that a 15-year-old Canadian citizen has been detained since July 27 without access to any representative from the Canadian government, lawyers or his family.

The imprisonment of these children is “wholly repugnant and contrary to basic principles of human rights,” said Angela Wright of Amnesty International in a report in the *Guardian*.

The internment of children seems especially cruel given that the detainees at Guantanamo are denied access to lawyers and to their families; moreover, they are being held indefinitely, since the U.S. government refuses to grant them the protection of the Geneva Convention because it defines all the prisoners at Guantanamo as “enemy combatants.” Many of them have been de-

tained for more than a year, in a sort of legal limbo. None of the inmates at Guantanamo has yet been tried or convicted of any crime. The military spokesman who admitted to the presence of children at Guantanamo told reporters that, as soon as their age was confirmed by medical examination, the children were housed in special quarters, separate from adult inmates, where they have access to each other, receive some basic schooling and have access to mental health specialists.

The UN Convention on the Rights of Children (1990) has been signed and ratified by almost all members of the United Nations. The only two countries who have not ratified it are Somalia and the U.S. However, the U.S. signed the Convention in 1995 and is thus bound by international law “not to do anything to defeat the object and purpose of the treaty, pending its decision on whether to ratify it,” according to Amnesty International. “The USA is daily contravening this obligation, at home and now abroad.”

Article 37 of the Convention

states that “every child deprived of his or her liberty shall have the right to maintain contact with his or her family through correspondence and visits” and “shall have the right to prompt access to legal and other appropriate assistance, as well as the right to challenge the legality of the deprivation of his or her liberty before a court or other competent, independent and impartial authority, and to a prompt decision on any such action.”

Article 39 states that “the arrest, detention or imprisonment of a child shall be in conformity with the law and shall be used only as a last resort and for the shortest appropriate period of time.”

The lack of clarity surrounding the detention of children at Guantanamo is particularly troubling in light of the U.S. handling of children inmates in state prison systems. Article 37 of the Convention prohibits the death penalty and life imprisonment without parole for those who were under 18 years of age when they committed their crimes. Amnesty International points out that since 1995, when the U.S. signed the Convention,

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"65 per cent of the executions of child offenders" were carried out by the U.S. In addition, "the United States has carried out the only four executions of child offenders known in the world" since the UN Special Session on Children in 2002

reaffirmed the rights of children and the responsibilities of governments toward children.

Sources: *Guardian*, April 24, 2003
<http://www.guardian.co.uk/international/story/0,3604,942310,00.html>

Amnesty International, April 25, 2003
<http://web.amnesty.org/library/Index/ENGAMR510582003?open&of=ENG-USA>

The Unseen War

Summary of an article by Michael Massing, *New York Review of Books*, May 29, 2003

"The Unseen War" of Massing's title is the war in Iraq that the U.S. media "thought Americans wanted to see" rather than the war as it really was. Massing claims that although the "more than five hundred reporters embedded with military units provided some unforgettable glimpses of the war, . . . remarkably few showed war's real-life effects, i.e., people getting killed and maimed."

To exemplify the difference between typical American reporting and that of some non-American journalists in the Middle East, Massing contrasts the *International Herald Tribune* headlines of April 7 — such as FOR U.S. SOLDIERS, THERAPY HELPS EASE BATTLE STRESS and HOPE FOR MISSING GIs GIVES WAY TO SADNESS — with a headline in *The Daily Star*, an insert in the *Herald Tribune* produced in Qatar, on the same day: IRAQI HOSPITALS OFFER SHAPSHOT OF HORROR. The accompanying *Daily Star* article described how the staff of the hospital to which a twelve-year-old Baghdad boy who lost his family and both his arms in a U.S. missile attack had been brought, "were overwhelmed by the sharp rise in casualties since American troops moved north to Baghdad Thursday and intensified their aerial assault." Massing adds that he "found hardly any mention of this in the *Herald Tribune* on that day."

"Spared exposure to the victims of war," Massing writes, "Americans had little idea of its human costs," and he says that the conflict Americans saw on television was "highly sanitized, with laser-guided weapons slamming into their targets with great precision." But

this "[we] observed from afar, usually in pictures taken from bombers thousands of feet above their target, or in images of clouds of black smoke rising hundreds of yards away."

In a particularly revealing segment of his article, Massing points to the difference between the generally tough-minded reporting on CNN International and the less "serious and informed" re-

Paula Zahn's and Aaron Brown's approaches "would not go down well with the British, French, or Germans, much less the Egyptians or Turks," sent "at huge expense," two teams — although "with plenty of overlap," like the use of the Christiane Amanpour — to cover the war.

"Part of the difficulty" with American reporting, according to Mass-

Statistics from the "Unseen War": Civilian deaths number at least 5,500

According to the online service Iraq Body Count, "The worldwide update of reported civilian deaths in the war on Iraq," the number of such deaths as of June 10, 2003, is at a minimum 5,531, and at a maximum 7,203. See the Iraq Body Count Web site (<http://iraqbodycount.net/>) for the sources drawn upon in the compilation of this information. The numbers change upward nearly every day.

In an article dated May 27, 2003, Iraq Body Count provides a table containing "the first 100 full names of civilians killed" in Iraq. "They are listed in date order of death. Also included, where known, are personal details, the place of death, the date of death, the source in which the name was reported, and the incident code from the IBC data base."

The article notes that the *Guardian* [London] newspaper printed a special supplement on May 16, 2003, containing a section of obituaries of civilians and military personnel killed in the Iraq War (see <http://www.guardian.co.uk/Iraq/memorial/0.133313.952862.00>). In publishing its table of 100 civilian names, Iraq Body Count says that its motivation is "exactly the same" as the motivation behind the recording of the names of those who perished on September 11, 2001 (see <http://www.cnn.com/SPECIALS/2001/memorial/>): "Each person requires to be remembered, not as a statistic but as a human being brutally plucked from their life, their family and their friends."

porting on the American version of CNN. This difference, Massing emphasizes, "was not accidental." The reason that "CNN International bore more resemblance to the BBC than to its domestic edition" is that six months before the war began, CNN executives planned "separate broadcasts for America and the world." These executives, aware that

ing, was the inadequacy of the reporters' knowledge about the Middle East. Not only did their inability to read or understand Arabic cut them off from Arabic newspapers and news channels, but they "were unfamiliar with Arab history, the roots of Islamic fundamentalism, the resurgence of Arab nationalism, the ranges

(Continued on page 4)

(Continued from page 3)

in the regional balance of power since September 11."

But another significant "part of the difficulty," as Massing makes clear elsewhere in his article, was the disinclination of American reporters in general to ask questions, at the briefings given by American military officers at the Coalition Media Center in Doha, Qatar, as "pointed and probing" as those of European and Arab journalists. General Vincent Brooks "offered outright disinformation" in his briefing on an incident at the Palestine Hotel: the killing of two journalists and

the wounding of several others when the hotel was hit by a U.S. tank shell. Brooks asserted "that US forces had come under fire from the hotel," but this, Massing points out, "was denied by the journalists on the scene, and the commander of the unit that fired the shell, in an interview with *Le Nouvel Observateur*, made no mention of being fired on from the hotel." Yet MSNBC's "resident terrorism expert," Steve Emerson, insisted — "before any of the facts were in — that the attacks were accidental."

Among his probing comments on the Arabic-language newscasts of al-

Jazeera television, a channel that "has been central in defining how Arabs" — and apparently increasing numbers of Europeans — "have seen the war," Massing notes that "the war was seen mainly through the plight of its victims, while the brutality of the Baathists and their horrifying methods were hardly mentioned." Yet he ends his article by observing that when al-Jazeera begins broadcasting in English next year, the shock many Americans may experience "seems needed," "in view of what they are usually shown."

Newton Dialogues on Peace and War

Dedicated to democratic dialogue and discussion.

We oppose militarism and unilateral, preventive wars.

We support cooperative security strategies through the United Nations.

We oppose unwise, unjust tax cuts and support a just economy that provides support for education, health care and the environment.

We oppose the USA PATRIOT Act and support the protection of our cherished civil rights and liberties.

- Check our Web site for information and events: www.newtondialog.org.
- Join our mailing list by writing to univ@attbi.com or P.O. Box 610395, Newton, MA 02461.
- Join our weekly vigil—every Thursday, 5 to 6 p.m., corner of Beacon and Centre Streets, Newton Center.
- Join our monthly meetings: usually held at 7:30 p.m., second Sunday every month, Eliot Church, 474 Centre Street, Newton Center.
- Commit yourself to working for peace and justice.

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Russia Builds Anti-missile Defense Weapons?

Summary of an article by Vladimir Radyuhin, *TheHindu* [India], May 26, 2003

In a May 25 report from Moscow, Vladimir Radyuhin says that "Russia may be close to building a new weapons system capable of destroying the missile shield the United States has started to deploy."

Commenting on a recent announcement by Russian President Vladimir Putin to Parliament, a "senior defense expert" observed that Putin's reference to advanced work to "create new types of Russian weapons" apparently concerned "new precision weapons designed to destroy space-based elements of the U.S. missile defense system."

Radyukhin says some analysts "suggested that Mr. Putin was referring to Russia's efforts to develop new low-yield nuclear weapons similar to those designed by the United States for use against terrorist bases." But although a

Russian defense official confirmed to the Itar-Tass news agency "that Russia was building pin-point weapons to counter new threats," he also said his country "was not developing any nuclear arms" to use "against terrorists" and that "strategic weapons must not necessarily have a nuclear component."

According to a "Russian expert in space warfare," Radmir Smirnov, the "new strategic arms" spoken of by Putin would probably be "space-based weapons," a "new weapon system" constituting "Russia's asymmetrical reply to America's costly national missile defense (NMD)." Smirnov told the Russian *Argumenti i Fakty* weekly that, while unable "to create a similar system, as it would cost \$300-400 billions," Russia can produce "novel" weapons costing "no more than \$3-4 billions, or a hundred times less than the NMD system."

[See <http://www.thehindu.com/>]

Alternative Views

www.alternative-views.org

Volume 1, Number 2

July 4, 2003

Newton Aldermen Committee Recommends Anti-USA Patriot Act Resolution to Full Board

The Programs and Services Committee of the Newton Board of Aldermen voted without dissent at a June 18 meeting to recommend to the full board a resolution opposing the USA PATRIOT Act. That law, passed by Congress in the wake of the September 11 attacks, gives the government broad powers in its investigations of terrorism. Such methods as surveillance, wire-tapping and the gaining of access to various records are permitted by the act.

The resolution passed by the Newton committee was requested in a petition to the Aldermen with more than 500 signatures, filed by several members of Newton Dialogues on Peace and War, a nonprofit organization formed shortly after the September 11 attacks. Leaders of the petition campaign and other Newton residents who supported the resolution had spoken in favor of it on June 4 before the Programs and Services Committee. In contrast to these speakers, a number of whom found in the act a new "McCarthyism," a few opponents of the resolution had defended the act as a measure justified by US security needs in the "war on terror."

During a discussion preceding the June 18 vote, Tony Winsor said on behalf of the petitioners that the USA PATRIOT Act

includes provisions permitting racial profiling, and he observed that thousands of people, most of them Arabic or Muslim, have been detained by the government since the act's passage. Winsor and other presenters compared these actions to the serious injustices that had been done to Japanese-Americans as a group during World War II after the attack on Pearl Harbor by Japan.

As an example of portions of the USA PATRIOT Act that the petitioners find offensive to American values because they violate civil liberties protected by the Bill of Rights, Winsor cited a provision permitting the FBI to look at what users of the library are doing at library computers. One of a number of specific requests in the petition to the Board of Aldermen, he said, is that a notice be posted in the library telling the public of this provision.

With the concurrence of the attending spokespersons for the petitioners—Octo Barnett, Dan Shaw, and Tony Winsor—the committee decided to make some changes in the resolution that it will send to the Board of Aldermen. If the board passes the resolution, which it is scheduled to take up on July 14, Newton will join numerous other cities and towns in the United States that have publicly opposed the USA PATRIOT Act.

Editor's note

Alternative Views presents news, information and opinions not normally seen in America's newspapers or included in television and radio reports. We bring you news that our media ignore yet is relevant to a more informed understanding of what is happening in the world today.

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The editors in this issue recommend that the Newton Board of Aldermen pass a resolution opposing the USA PATRIOT Act. We see our local actions connected to the actions of local, county, and state governments across the country. These governments are uniting against recent federal policies

that infringe civil liberties in the name of the "war on terror."

We begin with a report on the action of an Aldermen's committee sending the resolution to the full board and follow with an editorial supporting the resolution before the Board of Aldermen.

Readers will then find an article about how American citizens - under legislation like the PATRIOT Act - might face the same problems French journalists faced when under suspicion in the United States. If American reporters were treated in other countries the way French reporters were treated in the United States — in the case reported in this edition of *Alternative Views* — we might see a front-page story about it. American citizens would see the injustice done to citizens of a country that does not agree with US policy. (See "The Joys of French Bashing.")

Canadian and French newspapers report news differently from American newspapers. In the succeeding articles, we see how the news is reported differently in still other nations.

The Hebrew daily *Yedioth Ahronoth* (cited in a story from the *Toronto Star*) reports that half of Israelis believe Sharon's motivation for the recent attack on Palestinian leadership is to "sabotage the peace plan." Newspapers in America do not report this kind of information. In addition, this Hebrew newspaper

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found that six out of ten Israelis favor "an immediate halt to further assassinations." US newspapers tend to describe Israeli attacks not in terms of "assassinations," but rather in terms of "national defense." (See "Poll in Israel Finds Many Citizens Question Sharon's Attacks on Hamas.")

And American citizens do not read that Hamas leaders de-

clared they would study "attentively and seriously" the truce proposal presented by Egypt. A newspaper in Mexico finds this news to be important. (See "Hamas Rejects Road Map.")

In the next issue of *Alternative Views*, in August, the editors will present news and articles on the anniversary of the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

Editorial: Newton Should Join Other Governments in Protesting the USA PATRIOT Act

This second issue of *Alternative Views* goes online at the same time that America celebrates Independence Day. This is a critical time when the USA PATRIOT Act, passed weeks after the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001 killed thousands of people, is coming under scrutiny by Congress. Cities and citizens across America are saying that it takes away the protections and guarantees of the Bill of Rights in the American Constitution. This issue is noteworthy for Newton residents. The Newton Board of Aldermen will take a vote on this matter on July 14.

The American Civil Liberties Union reported in April that nearly 70 cities and counties nationwide representing 5.4 million Americans had passed resolutions opposing the USA PATRIOT Act and other federal actions that erode civil liberties. The Bill of Rights Defense Committee claims that "three states and 132 cities, towns and counties . . . have already passed resolutions and one ordinance to protect the civil liberties of their 16,319,112 residents." So far, 12 towns in Massachusetts have passed resolutions.

These are powerful statements in opposition to troubling new government powers: The PATRIOT Act gives the FBI expanded authority to spy on political meetings and houses of worship, monitor Internet and e-mail use, and subpoena libraries and bookstores for information about what patrons are reading. In addition, the federal government now can monitor lawyer-client conversations in prisons (including people in prison awaiting trial who have not yet been convicted).

Members of the US Congress are concerned. The House Judiciary Committee sent a request to Attorney General John Ashcroft asking him and FBI Director Robert Mueller to respond to 12 pages of questions about how the act is being implemented and how effective it has been.

The ACLU reports that PATRIOT II, now pending passage

in Congress, would radically diminish personal privacy by removing more checks on government power. It would permit, without any connection to anti-terrorism efforts, sensitive personal information about US citizens to be shared with local and state law enforcement. In addition, the government could gain secret access to credit reports without consent or judicial process.

PATRIOT II would increase government secrecy while diminishing public accountability. It would authorize secret arrests in immigration and other cases where the detained person is not criminally charged. It would allow for the sampling and cataloging of innocent Americans' genetic information without court order and without consent. And the act would shelter federal agents engaged in illegal surveillance without a court order from criminal prosecution if they are following orders of high executive branch officials.

The municipalities protesting against the USA PATRIOT Act believe they have a responsibility to be heard in Congress. Citizens are not only protesting in the street. They are formulating these resolutions in local governments, which are the foundation of American democracy.

In this edition of *Alternative Views*, readers will see that the Programs and Services Committee of the Newton Board of Aldermen voted without dissent at a June 18 meeting to recommend to the full board a resolution opposing the USA PATRIOT Act. The full board is scheduled to vote on the resolution on July 14.

The editors of *Alternative Views* recommend that Newton citizens support that resolution and that the Board of Aldermen vote in favor of it on July 14.

The joys of "French bashing"

Translation/summary by Irene and Guy Hofstein, of an article in *Le Canard Enchaîné*, May 21, 2003

"French bashing," literally the beating of the French, seems to be a sport pretty much in vogue among American immigration cops. French journalists have been paying the price.

On May 10, three reporters from two French TV weeklies — two men and one woman — arrived on a KLM flight in Los Angeles to cover a World Exhibition of Video Games. The three

didn't apply for visas because these are not ordinarily required for reporters. But this oversight, in the midst of a "Franco-American war," resulted in their enduring for 30 hours a very bad but real video game. Treated by the immigration cops as quasi-terrorists, they were arrested, had their shoelaces removed, and were searched, fingerprinted, photographed, handcuffed, and

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questioned. Then they were transported to the LA detention center. The two men were thrown into a cell with eight other illegal "immigrants," but the woman received "preferential" treatment: a big cell of her own, where the camera was focused on the toilet.

After 20 hours of detention, the three of them were put on a return flight to Paris.

Twenty minutes after their departure, three more reporters who had arrived on an Air France flight to cover the same video games exhibition got the same treatment, but in addition they

were searched no fewer than six times and severely interrogated. After being detained for more than 28 hours, they too were sent back to France, but with their passports stamped, "Expelled from the United States." In any case, they really had no desire to go back there soon.

Editor's Note: *Le Canard Enchaîné*, a French weekly that describes itself as "a satirical newspaper," prints hard news as well as opinion pieces that are characterized by the use of irony, derision, and wit.

Poll in Israel Finds Many Citizens Question Sharon's Attacks on Hamas, Want Halt to Assassinations

Summary of "Fingers of blame point at Sharon / Allegiance to Bush vision questioned / Israel hangs tough on beating Hamas" by Mitch Potter, *Toronto Star*, June 14, 2003

Israeli Prime Minister Ariel Sharon is taking most of the blame "for perhaps the bloodiest and most depressing week in the past 33 months of Middle East misery" because his decision on Tuesday, June 10, to send Israeli helicopter missiles against Hamas leader Abdel Aziz Rantisi was considered by many "akin to holding a match to a pile of dry leaves," Mitch Potter reports.

What is surprising, Potter writes, is not the criticism of Sharon (as well as of Hamas) by a Palestinian intellectual like Hanan Ashrawi or the "doubts regarding Sharon's sincerity and commitment to Bush's vision for the Middle East and its implementation" expressed editorially by the "dovish" Israeli newspaper *Haaretz*. The surprise is that according to a June 13 poll in the Hebrew daily *Yedioth Ahronoth*, "half of Israelis themselves believe Sharon's motivation for the attack was to sabotage the peace plan." *Yedioth* analyst Sever Plotzker, cited by Potter, also refers to a serious IDF (Israeli Defense Forces) "credibility problem that it has not suffered from so far during the *intifada*." The number of Israelis who perceive the IDF as a "political tool" is as high as the number who "depend on the army's professional ethics."

The *Yedioth* survey, sampling opinion from 501 people, found six out of ten Israelis favoring "an immediate halt to further assassinations." Plotzker called this "a new and unprecedented phenomenon," demonstrating the public's rejection of "its addiction to assassinations, especially of Palestinians from the political echelon, since it already knows what follow them."

Nevertheless, toward the end of a bloody week, the Israeli government was continuing to deliver a message of what Plotzker called "open-season" for the assassination of Hamas leaders.

These included Hamas's "spiritual guru," Sheikh Ahmed Yassin, who soon after the attack on Rantisi responded in an interview with Potter in a way "no less vexing" than Sharon's. Promising "a wave of Hamas vengeance" as a reprisal for the attack on Rantisi, he showed no fear of death at the hands of the

Israelis: "I ask God for martyrdom. Give it to me," he told Potter in an interview.

Dan Schueftan, a senior fellow at the University of Haifa's National Security Research Centre, is quoted by Potter as saying that by hitting Hamas "harder than ever before" Sharon can "distract attention" from the closing of settlement outposts, which "will lead to the closing of settlements, which is really what matters."

But Potter observes that although "67 per cent of Israelis agree with Sharon's controversial assertion that the military 'occupation' of Palestinian territory must end," Jewish settlers "were busy reconstructing the 10 uninhabited outposts dismantled...as Sharon's first gestures toward the promises of the Aqaba peace summit." And the Yesha Council of West Bank rabbis, "restating its biblical claim to the whole of the territory," urged "neighboring Arab countires to absorb all Palestinian refugees."

With "the ideological resolve of Israel's estimated 200,000 Jewish settlers and their international supporters....every bit as breathtaking as Hamas' resolve to never accept the existence of Israel, under any circumstances," Potter says "the wild card among the intransigent extremes on both sides remains, as always, the degree to which the Bush administration is prepared to push for peace." The *Yedioth* poll shows 75 percent of Israeli respondents convinced Bush "will pressure the Israeli government to implement the road map as written."

But toward the end of his report, Potter notes the "conventional wisdom" that "U.S. presidents quietly close their Mideast files in the run-up to re-election out of fear of provoking the wrath of domestic lobbies." If this theory "holds true, the window of opportunity for Bush to win traction for his road map amounts to only a few more months."

www.thestar.com

Hamas Rejects Road Map; Israel Continues Offensive: A Mexican Perspective

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Translated and excerpted from the Spanish by Richard C. Sterne
From *La Jornada* (Mexico, Federal District), June 16, 2003

Gaza, Monday, June 16 — Hamas leaders declared on Sunday, in a communiqué after meeting in Gaza with a delegation led by General Mustafa al Buhiri, that they will study "attentively and seriously" the truce proposal presented by the Egyptian intelligence services.

The Palestine movement's reply came hours after the United States president, George W. Bush, called upon the international community to deal harshly with Hamas and other resistance groups behind the violence against Israel, although Bush also reiterated his commitment to the road map toward peace, despite the wave of violence that recently shook the region.

The head of the Egyptian intelligence services, Al Buhiri, arrived yesterday in Gaza to meet representatives of Hamas and Islamic Jihad, as well as members of Palestine president Yasser Arafat's Fatah movement, in an effort to bring about a cease-fire between Israelis and Palestinians.

While promising to discuss the suggestions of Al Buhiri and his twelve-man delegation and to continue the dialogue with Egyptian leaders, Hamas reserved the right to resist the Israeli occupation. "The road map ...does not represent Palestinian aspirations," Hamas declared without giving details of the Egyptian delegation's suggestions.

Meanwhile, the Palestinian prime minister, Mahmoud Abbas, was soon to meet in Gaza with the Palestinian factions and try to end the wave of violence that left more than 50 dead in Israel and in Palestine during the week just past.

But the Israeli prime minister, Ariel Sharon, in a Sunday meeting of his cabinet, promised to continue the assaults on activists suspected of planning suicide attacks, because he believed the Palestinian activists could represent a time bomb, in connection with potential suicide bombers.

Nevertheless, the coordinator of Israeli activities in the Palestinian territories, General Amos Gilaad, proposed last Saturday [June 14] an Israeli

withdrawal from the northern part of the Gaza strip, in exchange for a commitment by the Palestinian security minister, Mohamed Dahlan, to prevent anti-Israel attacks from the zones to be evacuated. The security minister asked at the same time that the Israeli army withdraw from at least one reoccupied West Bank city....

While confirming his commitment to the road map, Bush emphasized that the Palestinian National Authority must organize a security force to do the work that prime minister Mahmoud Abbas had assured him the authority was interested in doing, of defeating the terrorists.

Meanwhile, in statements to the Israeli daily *Haaretz*, the leader of the Spanish government, Jose Maria Aznar, made clear his opposition to isolating the president of the Palestinian Authority [Yasser Arafat] from the current peace negotiations. He also criticized the Israeli attempt to liquidate the Hamas leader, Abdel Aziz Rantisi, by means of the controversial method of "selective assassinations." And he emphasized that these unsuitable initiatives make more difficult Abbas's task of controlling the members of the Palestinian resistance.

For his part, John Paul II issued a call to the international community to intensify its efforts to achieve peace in the Middle East. "There is no peace without justice, and there is no justice without forgiveness," the Pope declared. And he said that the region was the victim of a spiral of violence and counterviolence.

The Israeli army continued to dismantle illegal settlements, having evacuated since the week before this one 10 out of 15. But several of the have been partially reconstructed by West Bank settlers.

<http://www.jornadanet.com/>

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Editor's Note

The Legacy of Hiroshima; can we stop the use of WMD?

Rohna Shoul, a Newton resident who has been a committed leader in the women's peace movement for over forty years, opens this issue with a personal reflection, "Memories of a Stay in Hiroshima." Rohna recalls the US bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki and gives her impressions of her pilgrimage to Hiroshima in 1971 with her husband, a physician. The legacy of Aug. 6 and Aug. 9, 1945, is our theme in this issue of *Alternative Views*.

Richard C. Sterne reviews the book *The Day Man Lost: Hiroshima, 6 August 1945*. The authors believe that on that day all humankind "lost." Sterne writes that it is "every conscious person's fear since then either of dying in a hellish nuclear conflagration or of surviving it only to fall victim to incurable radiation sickness and coming to envy the dead." Can we stop the development of these weapons of mass destruction?

It has not happened yet. Heather Wokusch ("The Shameful Legacy of Radioactive Weaponry") reports for an online publication, Freezerbox.com, on a study that "suggests coalition forces used Afghanistan as a testing ground for radioactive weaponry, thereby placing generations of civilians — not to mention US service members — at unspeakable future risk." In addition, coalition forces used toxic uranium weapons in Afghanistan and an estimated 320 tons of depleted uranium ammunition in Iraq in the 1991 Gulf War. US service members were put at risk with

weapons used by their own government.

Daniela Bartalesi-Graf describes the risks of DU. Tons of DU-bearing weapons have been buried in the Iraqi desert since the Gulf War of 1991; they are still releasing radioactive dust into the environment. DU's radioactivity causes serious health problems — for both Iraqi citizens and US military personnel — years after the initial exposure. The legacy of Hiroshima continues.

But there is another type of weapon now being developed that has its own class of horror and sickness associated with it. The professional journal *Chemical and Engineering News* reports that the consensus of arms control experts about US bioweapons research is that it "tests the limits of the Biological Weapons Convention [BWC]." One researcher claims the US bioweapons programs "are pretty much equivalent to offensive research," which is prohibited by the treaty.

The next Hiroshima could be Boston, or New York City, or Washington, DC.

To stop this type of holocaust from happening again, readers can join local residents and others in the Boston area. Join former Newton resident Helen Caldicott, M.D., founder of the Nuclear Policy Research Institute (<http://www.nuclearpolicy.org/About.cfm?Menu=About>). Join Randall Forsberg of the Institute for Defense & Disarmament Studies (<http://www.idds.org>). Join the Arlington-based Women's Action for New Directions (<http://www.wand.org/homeframe.html>), whose mission is "to empower women to act politically to reduce violence and militarism, and redirect excessive military resources toward unmet human and environmental needs."

—STB

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PERSONAL REFLECTION: Memories of a Stay in Hiroshima

By Rohna Shoul

On this Hiroshima/Nagasaki memorial day let us hope the lessons of this event and the implications for the world have become embedded in the soul of our country. As the discussion continues about which country has nuclear weapons, may have nuclear weapons, or is thinking about developing nuclear weapons, we should remember which country has used nuclear weapons.

On August 6 and August 9, 1945, the first atomic bombs were dropped over Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Their firepower was equivalent to 40,000 tons of TNT, resulting in hundreds of thousands of civilian deaths

and injuries.

In 1971 my husband and I made a long pilgrimage to Hiroshima. It was 26 years after the devastation. A whole generation had grown up without direct memory, except for the Hibakusha — the survivors. Radiation sickness in many changed the course of their lives forever. While they lived, a significant number felt it was their duty to remind the Japanese and the world what had happened there, to make sure that it would never happen again.

We found in Hiroshima a thriving city

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that had been reborn. The only evidence of the horror of August 6, 1945, was the Hiroshima Memorial Peace Park, where we spent the day. What had been the entire business district of Hiroshima was now a beautiful landscaped park with reflecting pool, memorials, museum and crowds of people who were very quiet as they reflected on the reason they were there. The museum houses artifacts that testify to the destruction and suffering that took place. The statistics are beyond belief and have to be absorbed gradually. It is well to remember that this was the first atomic bomb developed and to contemplate what is possible with today's weaponry.

What particularly touched us was the number of Japanese who asked to have their pictures taken with us. As Americans we felt guilty but were treated as celebrities! In the museum we inadvertently went to see the film of the bombing's aftermath, narrated in Japanese. We had thought it was to be the English ver-

sion. In this very small room, watching the scenes of devastation surrounded by Japanese viewers, our discomfort was acute. When the lights went on we were greeted warmly and comforted by them.

I would hope for a world where memorials to human tragedy no longer have to be built. At the entrance of the Peace Memorial Museum are the words of Pope John Paul II inscribed on a large stone: "War is the work of man. War is the destruction of human life. War is death. To remember the past is to commit oneself to the future. To remember Hiroshima is to abhor nuclear war. To remember Hiroshima is to commit oneself to peace."

To learn more about the atomic bomb and the Hiroshima Memorial Peace Park, visit the Internet exhibit A-Bomb WWW Museum at <http://www.csi.ad.jp/ABOMB/>. The site of the Peace Memorial Museum is <http://www.csi.ad.jp/ABOMB/pmm.html>.

Information, and Probing Questions, about the First Atomic Bombing

Review-essay by Richard C. Sterne of *The Day Man Lost: Hiroshima, 6 August 1945*, Tokyo: Pacific War Research Society, Kodansha Ltd., 1972

The Day Man Lost, first published 31 years ago but generally unknown in the United States, seems more pertinent than ever during an American administration that has threatened to use nuclear weapons "preemptively" in creating its new world order.

Prepared by a 14-member Japanese group who drew on German and English as well as Japanese and American sources, the book has a foreword by John Toland, author of *The Rising Sun: The Decline and Fall of the Japanese Empire, 1936-1945*, for which he won the 1971 Pulitzer Prize for nonfiction.

We know that with the dropping of the atomic bomb "Little Boy" on Hiroshima, the United States won complete victory in World War II. The authors of this book, however, believe that on August 6, 1945, all humankind "lost." One aspect of that loss, which they do not need to mention, is every conscious person's fear since then either of dying in a hellish nuclear conflagration or of surviving it only to fall victim to incurable radiation sickness and coming to envy the dead. But the book's implicit tragic theme is that what we all lost with the use of this weapon was the possibility — no more than that, since atom-splitting capability had become ours forevermore in 1942 at the University of Chicago — of imposing controls on the development of nuclear energy that might prevent the production anywhere of an atomic weapon.

The Day Man Lost is divided into three segments. The first concisely summarizes efforts between 1941 and 1945 to produce an atomic bomb, by Americans and Germans but also — and this was not generally known until the book appeared — by the Japanese, whose leading nuclear scientist, Yoshio Nishina, had studied in Copenhagen under Niels Bohr. Germany's failure to acquire the bomb seems to have been due chiefly to Hitler's contempt for "Jewish physics." Einstein having opened the way to the splitting of the atom with his famous equation, the Nazis apparently underwent contortions in trying to use his work while

concealing the "decadent" origin of German scientific efforts. Although Germany controlled extensive European uranium sources, unmatched by the United States, Hitler never funded the scientific efforts adequately.

A major reason for the Japanese failure was their inability, after starting an atomic project in the spring of 1942, to find enough uranium to experiment with. The United States, however, had tremendous financial resources — it spent \$2 billion in its sprint to beat the Germans to the bomb — and the minds and strong motivation of scientists, many of whom were refugees from Nazi persecution.

The second segment of *The Day Man Lost* consists partly of a history of the Pacific war from January through July 1945. On the one hand it then focuses on Japanese scientists' last-ditch attempts to produce the atomic weapon (even after Nishina's laboratory had been destroyed during an April bombing) for a country now losing battle after battle to the United States and its allies; experiencing incendiary bombing of its cities by B-29s that became especially horrific after those planes began flying low over their targets in March; and suffering from hunger, inadequate military equipment and a sense of approaching doom. On the other hand, the second segment focuses on the United States' hopes — soon expectations — of forcing the enemy's "unconditional surrender" without losing large numbers of American lives in an invasion of Japan and without having to depend on Stalin's promise, made at the Yalta Conference in February, to send Soviet forces into the war against Japan.

Additional themes of the book's second segment are the conflicts among Japanese leaders and among their US counterparts. The Japanese high command wanted to fight to the end, despite mounting territorial losses, including eventually Okinawa, and despite the increasingly grim condition of a famished, ill people

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debarred from the black market luxuries available to Japanese leaders. Opposing the military was a small peace movement among important figures, including members of the emperor's entourage. By the time the Japanese cabinet resigned in April because it found it could no longer conduct the war, peace advocates had won the emperor's cautious support. Senior statesmen, all former prime ministers, now selected as the new prime minister a retired admiral of the Imperial Japanese Navy, Baron Kantaro Suzuki, who accepted the post only at the emperor's insistence. The authors remark that it isn't possible to know with certainty whether Suzuki realized at this point that "he was to be called upon to end the war." But Suzuki did testify later that he'd chosen Shigenori Togo as foreign minister out of a desire "to do his utmost" to end hostilities as soon as possible. (Togo, although prime minister at the time of Pearl Harbor, had opposed the conflict from the start.)

There developed during the spring and early summer, among both peace activists and military leaders, an uneasy tacit agreement — encouraged by the emperor — that Japan should surrender, on the condition that the "emperor system" be retained. There was no agreement, however, on exactly what this condition meant. What the Japanese readiness to seek an immediate peace did mean, however, was their determination to enlist the "good services" of the Soviet Union, with which they had a Neutrality Pact. This determination survived the shock the Japanese received on the April day the cabinet fell: the Soviet foreign minister told the Japanese ambassador in Moscow, Sato, that the Soviet Union intended to abrogate the pact, which would however remain valid according to its terms until April 1946. The Japanese did not know of Stalin's Yalta commitment to declare war against Japan within three months of the end of the European war, but Sato realized that his government's attempt to enlist Soviet "good services" was useless; and the United States contrived to decode all the cables and other messages passing between the Japanese foreign ministry and Sato in Moscow and therefore should have known of the extreme weakness of Japan's situation when the Manhattan Project culminated, at Alamogordo on July 16, in the first atomic bomb explosion.

Just as there were conflicts in a weakened Japan over how to end the war without sacrificing the "emperor system," there were intense disagreements in the United States, after Germany's May 1945 surrender, partly over the conditions under which the atomic bomb could justifiably be dropped on Japanese cities, but also over whether it should be dropped at all.

The obvious argument for using the bomb was the US military leaders' fears of countless American deaths in an invasion of Japan. Those fears, however, do not seem to have had anything to do with the June 1 recommendation to President Truman, by a committee chaired by Secretary of War Henry Stimson, "that the bomb should be used against Japan ... as soon as possible." The authors of *The Day Man Lost* observe, in their examination of the phrase "as soon as possible": "Considering ... the amount of

time the committee devoted to a discussion of Soviet capabilities and intentions, the thought may also have been present that the sooner the bomb was used, the less likelihood there was of Soviet armies occupying large areas of the Asian mainland and perhaps even of Japan itself."

The authors then ask, however, whether some persons feared that were the bomb not used "as soon as possible," there might not be a chance to use it at all. In that case, they remark with Swiftian irony, "the recommendation was eminently reasonable, for Japan's ability to wage war had already been virtually destroyed."

In its recommendation to President Truman, the Stimson committee urged not only that the bomb should be dropped as soon as possible, but that it should be dropped on Japan "without specific warning." A large group of American nuclear scientists strongly objected to using the bomb "without specific warning," and there was emphatic objection by at least one scientist to using it at all. This was Leo Szilard, who after urging Einstein to write the historic 1939 letter to President Roosevelt pressing for US development of an atomic bomb, had worked with Enrico Fermi at the University of Chicago to develop the first self-sustained reactor based on uranium fission. In *A Personal History of the Bomb*, published

in 1949, Szilard wrote that after Germany's defeat and weeks before the bomb was tested in New Mexico, he, along with Harold C. Urey and one other person, had visited James F. Byrnes (not yet secretary of state) and that Byrnes had known at that time, "as the rest of the government knew, that Japan was essentially defeated and that we could win the war in six months."

But Byrnes, says Szilard, believed that US demonstration of the bomb "would make Russia more manageable in Europe" — where the Soviet shadow had fallen on the eastern countries. Szilard declares that although he fully shared Byrnes's concern about Europe, he "could hardly imagine any premise more false or disastrous upon which to base our policy."

Even the relatively nuanced position of a "committee of social and political implications" (composed of three physicists, three chemists, and one biologist) was rejected. This committee recommended to the secretary of war that — in order to avoid "a wave of horror and repulsion sweeping over the rest of the world" that would "outweigh the saving of American lives" — a demonstration of the new weapon be made "before the eyes of representatives of all the United Nations on the desert or a barren island." Ultimately, with UN sanction, "and [that of] public opinion at home," the bomb might possibly be used against Japan, at least after an ultimatum to Japan to surrender.

The authors of the book wonder whether President Truman knew — before the Potsdam Declaration threatened Japan with total destruction if it did not surrender unconditionally — of the ethical concerns of many scientists who had labored to produce the bomb. The authors also ask: Would the Suzuki government have surrendered and the bomb not been used if Secretary of

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...the thought may also have been present that the sooner the bomb was used, the less likelihood there was of Soviet armies occupying large areas of the Asian mainland and perhaps even of Japan itself.

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State Byrnes had accepted Stimson's position, strongly favored by former Ambassador to Japan Joseph C. Grew, that the Japanese government should be offered a guarantee "that Japan might maintain her imperial house if that was what her people wanted."

The final segment of *The Day Man Lost* is an account, focusing on temporary survivors of the "flash-boom" that killed about 120,000 of Hiroshima's 400,000 civilians and military men (the Japanese Second Army, charged with the defense of western Japan, was headquartered in the city) from the dreadful moment of 8:15 a.m. until day's end. The terrifying fires; the "black rain" that infected people with radiation sickness; the horrible thirst that made people fling themselves into Hiroshima's abnormally swirling rivers; the absence of medications other than Mercurio-

chrome and ointment to treat wounded men, women and children — many of them suddenly naked and blind — who had become almost unrecognizable; the utter inadequacy of Hiroshima's hospitals and first aid stations in the overwhelming catastrophe; and, despite this inferno beyond describing, the efforts of many, grievously hurt themselves, to help others, although sadly they did nothing to aid the scores of thousands of Koreans who had been forced into labor in the city — all this is recounted so that no one who reads the book can ever forget that this day, to be followed by another like it, on August 9, when a different atomic bomb, a plutonium bomb, was dropped on Nagasaki (but WHY this second atrocity?), was fashioned by human beings who resembled you and me.

The Shameful Legacy of Radioactive Weaponry

By Heather Wokusch,
Freezerbox, June 14, 2003

Disturbing new evidence puts the US military's use of radioactive weaponry in the spotlight, casting doubt on the Bush administration's upbeat estimates on civilian war casualties in Afghanistan and Iraq.

A study by the Washington, D.C. based Uranium Medical Research Center (UMRC) suggests coalition forces used Afghanistan as a testing ground for radioactive weaponry, thereby placing generations of civilians — not to mention US service members — at unspeakable future risk.

The UMRC study found "astonishing" levels of uranium in the urine of Afghan civilians living in Nangarhar province, one of many places coalition forces bombarded with a new generation of "cave-busting" and seismic shock warheads. Interestingly, none of the civilians tested at Nangarhar showed traces of depleted uranium (DU), yet hundreds exhibited symptoms resembling those of DU-exposed Gulf War veterans.

The implications are ominous. Independent studies show coalition forces used toxic uranium alloys and hard-target uranium warheads in Afghanistan, but if the "mystery" uranium in Nangarhar isn't DU, what is it? What kinds of radioactive ammunition were used elsewhere in Afghanistan? What are the long-term health implications for civilians and service members? And what are the moral, let alone criminal, implications of radiating civilian populations?

Unfortunately, Afghanistan isn't the only country reeling under the Bush administration's idea of "liberation" — Iraq has arguably fared worse. New evidence suggests the US invasion may have killed up to 10,000 Iraqi civilians, many from cluster bombs dropped into densely populated civilian areas. Meanwhile, US and British occupying forces are accused of illegally detaining and torturing Iraqi civilians, and the US military has kicked around the idea of having Iraqi "hooligans ... either captured or killed."

Of course, if Iraq was used as a testing ground for radioactive weaponry, as appears to have been the case in Afghanistan, then the true civilian costs in cancers, birth defects and human suffering could be immeasurable.

As might be expected, the US Department of Defense (DOD) has shown little interest in pinpointing the medical effects of radioactive weaponry. In the 1991 Gulf War, an estimated 320 tons of DU ammunition was dumped on Iraq, and the Pentagon later acknowledged over 900 American soldiers had sustained "moderate to heavy" DU exposure. Few epidemiological studies have been conducted to assess the damage though, and even worse, US government officials have lied to cover up bad results.

For example, a Pentagon spokesperson recently told the NATO press corps, "We have seen no cancers or leukemia" in a group of 60 Gulf War vets involved in a DU-study program, despite the fact that two participants had in fact contracted cancer. And in a press briefing last March, a DOD spokesperson downplayed health risks associated with DU, claiming Iraqis complained about it only "because we kicked the crap out of them."

Fortunately, British researchers have taken the DU issue more seriously. Scientific studies in the UK have shown Gulf veterans can have up to 14 times the normal level of genetic chromosome abnormalities, which means their children are also at increased risk for deformities and genetic diseases. It's also been proven that DU-exposed vets have a greater likelihood of contracting lymphatic or bone marrow cancer.

Findings like these have prompted the European Parliament to call for a moratorium on DU ammunition (and other types of uranium warheads) pending independent investigations into their possible harmful effects. Similarly, the UN Environment Program (UNEP) has announced plans to test the Iraqi environment for DU, and the World Health Organization (WHO) may begin similar testing on the human population.

The ultimate irony, of course, is that America may have used radioactive weaponry to justify invading other countries to search for radioactive weaponry. Bitter irony too that US service members were put at increased risk because of the weapons their government provided.

<http://www.freezerbox.com/archive/article.asp?id=271>

A Primer on Depleted Uranium

By Daniela Bartalesi-Graf

What is depleted uranium?

Although it's called "depleted," this type of uranium is far from being harmless; depleted uranium (DU) refers to uranium-238, what is left when uranium-235 is enriched for use in nuclear weapons and reactors. Depleted uranium has about 60% radioactivity of natural uranium. While it cannot undergo fission for use in atomic bombs, it is still radioactive and toxic.

Why is DU used in weapons?

For the US government, DU is free, plentiful and efficient to use — a radioactive by-product which, if not used, would be very expensive to dispose of. It is extremely heavy and dense (1.7 times denser than lead) and therefore ideal for weapons intended to pierce and destroy tanks, bunkers, etc. Another metal, tungsten, could be used with the same efficacy and less toxic consequences, but it is much more expensive.

What happens when a weapon built with DU hits a target?

DU is a naturally pyrophoric material, that is, when a DU weapon penetrates its target, it ignites and burns immediately. Then it is dispersed in the air in small oxidized particles similar to dust. Tests conducted by the US army have demonstrated that between 2 and 7 pounds of radioactive and highly toxic material are released in the air when a 120mm weapon penetrates a heavy target.

Those DU weapons that don't hit a target and don't burn might stay buried in water or soil, slowly releasing uranium particles into the environment.

In what conflicts has DU been used?

About 800 tons of DU were used during the Gulf War of 1991. It is estimated that between 40 and 400 tons of DU-bearing weapons are still buried in the Iraqi desert, slowly releasing their dust into the environment. US soldiers who were stationed in the area during Desert Storm have come down with various types and degrees of illness, officially recognized as Gulf War Syndrome. Symptoms include respiratory problems, kidney problems, memory loss, low blood pressure, birth defects in newborns and others.

DU weapons were also used in Kosovo (NATO claimed to have used about 10 tons of DU during that conflict) and by the US in Afghanistan. A UN research team has found that drinking water in the area of Sarajevo is contaminated with depleted uranium from weapons used in 1994 and 1995.[1]

Fewer data are available for the 2003 war against Iraq. The US and the Pentagon said at the beginning of the conflict that they would still be using DU weapons, and it is certain that at least one coalition soldier was killed and three others injured when a DU weapon inadvertently destroyed a tank.[2]

What are the consequences of using DU weapons?

In the short term, DU is chemically highly toxic; it can cause vomiting, diarrhea and general weakness; in the long term, its

radioactivity causes serious health problems — leukemia, lung and bone cancer, sterility and birth defects, among others — even years or decades after the initial exposure.

The general population is especially at risk because particles of depleted uranium continue to be slowly released in the air for months and years, and this continuous exposure increases the risk of serious health problems, especially in children. Whereas soldiers stay in contaminated areas only weeks or months, residents return to live and to eat food grown in contaminated soil, and children play around destroyed structures and collect weapon fragments containing DU.

No definitive study has been conducted on the effects of DU on the general population in Iraq, Afghanistan and the Balkans. However, doctors in local hospitals have collected data showing that, after each of the conflicts in those places, the incidence of cancer, especially in children, and unusual birth defects has dramatically increased. For example, acute myeloblastic leukemia, a very aggressive form of cancer and a recognized consequence of exposure to radiation, has been reported in unusual numbers in children in Baghdad since the Gulf War of 1991 (some reports say it increased as much as 600%). Baghdad hospitals have reported an unusually high number of anophthalmic birth (babies without eyes). Another deformity associated with high levels of radiation — the lack of crowns in the skulls of newborns, has been reported in unusually high numbers. A similar rise in the leukemia rate has been observed in Sarajevo.

Traces of DU have also been found in the semen of US soldiers who had served in Desert Storm. According to Dr. Doug Rokke, a physicist, former director of the Pentagon's DU project and now one of the strongest opponents to the use of DU in weapons, "Studies have found that male soldiers who served in the Gulf War were almost twice as likely to have a child with a birth defect and female soldiers almost three times as likely." [3]

Is DU considered a "legal weapon"?

No. The UN Sub-Commission on the Promotion and Protection of Human Rights decided in August 2002 that depleted uranium is incompatible with the "laws and custom of war" (humanitarian law). Out the 26 members of the commission only 3 voted against this conclusion (US, UK and Norway).

According to Karen Parker, a lawyer with the International Educational Development/Humanitarian Law Project who delivered reports to the UN on depleted uranium: "DU weaponry fails all four tests [derived from humanitarian law]. (1) It cannot be 'contained' to legal fields of battle and thus fails the territorial test. (2) It continues to act after hostilities are over and thus fails the temporal test. (3) It is inhumane and thus fails the humanness test. DU is inhumane because of how it can kill — by cancer, kidney disease, etc. long after the hostilities are over. DU is inhumane because it causes birth (genetic) defects thus [a]ffecting children (who may never be a military target and who are born after the war is over). The use of DU weapons may be

(Continued on page 6)

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characterized as genocidal by burdening gene pools of future generations. (4) DU cannot be used without unduly damaging the natural environment and thus fails the environment test.”[4]

Can areas hit by DU weapons be decontaminated and made safe for human activities?

According to Dr. Rokke: "For each and every vehicle that is struck by a single uranium munition you have to take that entire vehicle, and physically remove it. Then you have to clean up all the uranium penetration that is left around that vehicle. Then you have to take a bulldozer, and go out to at least 100 meters (yards) and scrape down at least 10 centimeters (four inches) and remove all of that dirt in order to make that area safe again. If that is not done, the contamination will last 4.5 billion years.”[5]

Sources used for this articles:

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Notes

- [1] About the US use of DU weapons in Afghanistan, see <http://mondediplo.com/2002/03/03uranium>. About the contamination of the Sarajevo drinking water, see <http://mapcruzin.com/news/war032503a.htm>
- [2] <http://www.sundayherald.com/32522>
- [3] <http://www.yesmagazine.org/25environmentandhealth/rokk.htm>
- [4] <http://www.webcom.com/hrin/parker/du2000.html>
- [5] <http://www.middle-east-online.com/english/?id=5471>

Note: For Richard C. Sterne’s article on US bioweapons research, see the on-line edition.

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We invite readers' comments on any aspect of this issue of *Alternative Views*. Although it is not possible for us to reply to you individually, we will try to respond in *Alternative Views* to suggestions or criticisms that are frequently made or that we find especially helpful. If you wish to comment on this issue, please write to comments@alternative-views.org or Editors, *Alternative Views*, P.O. Box 610395, Newton, MA 02461.

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Newton Dialogues on Peace and War

Dedicated to democratic dialogue and discussion.

We oppose militarism and unilateral, preventive wars.

We support cooperative security strategies through the United Nations.

We oppose unwise, unjust tax cuts and support a just economy that provides support for education, health care and the environment.

We oppose the USA PATRIOT Act and support the protection of our cherished civil rights and liberties.

What can you do?

- Check our Web site for information and events: www.newtondialog.org
- Join our mailing list by writing to univ@aifbi.com or P.O. Box 610395, Newton, MA 02461.
- Join our weekly vigil — every Thursday, 5 to 6 p.m., corner of Beacon and Centre Streets, Newton Center.
- Join our monthly meetings: usually held at 7:30, second Sunday every month, Eliot Church, 474 Centre Street, Newton Center.
- Commit yourself to working for peace and justice.

Newton Dialogues on Peace and War is represented at the monthly meetings of United for Justice with Peace community groups.

Alternative Views

www.alternative-views.org

Volume 1, Number 4

September 11, 2003

COMMENTARY

Remembering September 11: Waging World Peace

by Severyn Bruyn

The attack on the World Trade Center on September 11, 2001, with its shock, terror, grief and rage, has had a strong impact on domestic and foreign policy. The World Trade Center was a symbol of freedom for people in the US and many allies, but for others it was a symbol of dominance. World trade is opening a path for free markets and democracy, but it is also a struggle for power. Global markets are linked to the issues of war and peace.

Many citizens are still trying to understand September 11 and find out what to do about it. Answering those attacks and pursuing terrorists go hand in hand with the question of how to combat a growing debt. Before 9/11 the US had a debt problem, but now there is a countrywide crisis. In the 1990s the federal government cre-

ated \$2.8 trillion of new debt, more than created in the nation's entire history prior to that time. But the fiscal year 2001 debt went still higher. The national debt increased an average of \$1.25 billion per day during FY2002, rising in FY2002 to \$6.2 trillion. That's an increase of \$420 billion over FY2001. Since September 30, 2002, it has continued to increase an average of \$1.65 billion per day. The outstanding public debt on September 4, 2003 (at 03:21:28 PM GMT) was \$6,802,285,437,090.19.[1]

Here's the rub: We spend a billion dollars per day just paying the *interest* on this debt. We pay more on the interest than we do for military defense. The War Resisters League estimates for FY2004 in five major categories of the budget are as follows: Human Resources 34%; General Government 13%; Past Military Expenditures

20%; Current Military Expenditures 27%; Physical Resources 6%. (See the pie chart on page 5.)[2]

The Congressional Budget Office (CBO) estimates that "if the president's tax cuts become permanent and his prescription drug plan and increased defense spending all go ahead, the federal budget deficit could total \$5 trillion over the next decade." [3]

A congressional committee in mid-July discovered that the war in Iraq was costing \$3.9 billion a month. The continuing war in Afghanistan is costing almost \$1 billion a month (see "What Happened to Afghanistan?" in this issue). That's \$5 billion a month to maintain "civil order" in two countries that we invaded. Yet sophisticated analysts say these estimates don't tell

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Newton Board of Aldermen Passes Altered Version of Citizens' Resolution Opposing USA PATRIOT Act

by Richard C. Sterne

The Newton Board of Aldermen approved without dissent on August 11 a somewhat changed version of the original citizen's resolution opposing the USA PATRIOT Act — passed by

Congress in the wake of the September 11 terrorist attacks — on the grounds that it permits and has led to serious violations of civil liberties constitutionally protected in the United States Constitution. All 19 Aldermen who were present voted in favor of the final resolution. One of the 6 Aldermen not present to vote, Marcia Johnson, said in a letter to the *Newton TAB* (Aug. 13) that the "USA Patriot Act, and the proposed Patriot Act II, together violate some of the most important rights explicitly stated in the United States Constitution," particularly in the Fourth and First Amendments.

With passage of the resolution, Newton joins about 157 cities and towns across the country to oppose the USA PATRIOT Act.

Newton Dialogues on Peace and War, which formed shortly after the September 11 attacks, had conducted a vigorous petition campaign, gathering more than

enough signatures by May to require the Board to take up the measure. In June, at the end of a meeting during which leaders of the petition campaign presented arguments for the resolution, it was approved by the Aldermen's Programs and Services Committee. However, changes were subsequently made in the proposed measure, first by a subcommittee of the committee that had voted for it and then in amendments adopted at the August 11 meeting.

One notable difference between the language of the "action" portion of the resolution as finally adopted and the language in the corresponding portion of the original resolution concerns what the mayor is asked to do. In the final resolution, the Aldermen request him "to instruct city departments and officers to respect the constitutional rights of all people of the City of Newton, including the principles of equality, due process of law,

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EDITOR'S NOTE

Living with the aftermath of September 11

Most of the issues addressed in *Alternative Views* Number 4 arose directly from and concern the continuing aftermath of the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001.

Severyn Bruyn's article, "Remembering September 11: Waging World Peace," notes that the global markets symbolized by the World Trade Center "are linked to the issues of war and peace." The article notes that "pursuing terrorists goes hand in hand with the question of how to combat a growing debt." For a Congressional Budget Office estimate predicts a federal budget deficit as high as \$5 trillion over the next decade. And the war in Iraq was costing the US \$3.9 billion a month as of July. Severyn Bruyn suggests that we need to develop a new system of international governance to stop world terrorism, reduce the likelihood of nuclear war and prevent a worldwide economic depression and ecosystem failure.

The report by Richard C. Sterne on the August 11 Newton Board of Aldermen resolution opposing the USA PATRIOT Act also addresses an issue that arose directly from the horrific events of September 11. It was in the wake of those attacks that the US Congress passed overwhelmingly legislation that is coming widely to be seen as what the *New York Times* editorially labeled it on August 25: "An Unpatriotic Act."

The Aldermen's resolution links Newton to a growing number of US cities and towns that have called upon their inhabitants and officials to oppose, or be wary of, an act that has permitted the denial to American citizens and to immigrants of the due process of law guaranteed by our Constitution.

Daniela Bartalesi-Graf's "What Happened to Afghanistan?" takes up still another direct consequence of September 11: the "war against terrorism" in Afghanistan that began in October 2001 and that continues to cost human lives and widespread suffering among an underfed, underemployed populace. Daniela Bartalesi-Graf's analysis describes a country where not only are there constant military threats, but "reconstruction lags, unemployment is rampant, farmers find in the cultivation of the opium poppy the only means of survival and Islamic fundamentalism is still invoked as the only way to bring back some order and security." The article concludes with a question addressed to "those who claim that Iraq will embrace democracy and that stability and security will reign." The question is "What happened to Afghanistan?"

Summarizing oil geologist Colin Campbell's "Peak Oil: A Turning Point for Humankind," Allan Rubin reports Campbell's prediction of a global economic crisis caused by depletion of the world's supply. We might conclude from Campbell's prophecy that even the ocean — the "last frontier" for oil mining — could stave off the crisis only briefly, that US military campaigns — in the wake of September 11 — are unlikely to postpone the great recession he foresees.

Frank Propp's "The World Trade Organization: Free Trade for Whom?" summarizes five widely perceived threats to large numbers of human beings by the World Trade Organization, in which the US, as well as the EU, exerts tremendous influence.

— RCS

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We invite you to inquire about submitting for possible publication an original article expressing an opinion, an analytical summary, or a translation — not to exceed 700 words — on any subject with which *Alternative Views* is concerned (see our Prospectus). Please include in your inquiry a clear description of the proposed piece. Send the inquiry to submissions@alternative-views.org.

Letter to the Editor

Dear Friends at *Alternative Views*:

The article in Issue 2 entitled " Hamas Rejects Road Map" presented the Palestinian group Hamas in neutral language as an organization resisting Israeli occupation. Hamas is different from other resistance movements. Its leadership engages in the ultimate barbarity, human sacrifice. It straps explosives on its own young people and destroys them. The nobility of the Indian resistance to British colonialism and of the Vietnamese resistance to American anti-communist fanaticism stands in stark contrast. Most recently, Iraqi resistance partisans

have targeted American soldiers ordered by President Bush to attack and occupy their country against the will of the civilized world. It is Bush who bears responsibility for the deaths of our sons and daughters, not the Iraqi resistance.

Instead of trying to project a neutrality lacking in our mainstream media in its reporting on the Middle East, *Alternative Views* should try to expose the American support that allows the Israeli army and government to mistreat the Palestinians with impunity. I would like to learn more about the direct financial, military, and intelligence links between the United States and Israel. But in seeking alternative views on the Palestinian-Israeli turf war, I do not find it nec-

essary to avoid calling barbarity by its true name.

Jerry Manning
Newton, MA

Editors' Note: We reply to our friend that *Alternative Views* does not necessarily agree editorially with opinions expressed or implied in articles from media sources that we summarize or reproduce. It is our journalistic policy to present news reports and opinion pieces, from sources abroad as well as in the US, that convey views not commonly available in mainstream US media. *Alternative Views* editorially condemns as barbaric acts of terror, whether they are committed by individuals, groups or nations.

ANALYSIS

What Happened to Afghanistan?

by Daniela Bartalesi-Graf

The present situation in Iraq awakens a feeling of déjà vu. Isn't the scenario of chaos, random violence, disrepair of the infrastructures, broken promises from the "coalition" forces and resurgence of fundamentalism in Iraq reminiscent of what we have seen in Afghanistan since the fall of the Taliban? A review of what has happened to Afghanistan in the past 18 months can certainly teach us a lot about the present situation in Iraq and the direction of US policy in the whole region.

As the Taliban regime gradually collapsed in January 2002, the coalition forces assured the world that they had learned the lesson of the past: this time they would not forget Afghanistan and leave it, as they did in the early 1990s, when the chaos of civil war prepared the way for the fundamentalist and oppressive Taliban regime. This time the world would witness a speedy reconstruction and the return of a secular and free society in Afghanistan.

Far from being secular and free, Af-

ghanistan now is a country whose central government — led by Hamid Karzai — is so weak that it controls only a small area around Kabul, while several warlords have taken over the rest of the country and are engaged in constant inner struggles to gain control of roads and trade. The south is still ravaged by heavy fighting between US forces and the remnants of the Taliban, reconstruction lags, unemployment is rampant, farmers find in the cultivation of the opium poppy the only means of survival and Islamic fundamentalism is still invoked as the only way to bring back some order and security. The recent burst of violence and terrorist attacks that left more than 50 people dead in one day has suddenly brought Afghanistan back to the headlines.[1]

What has gone wrong in the country since the fall of the Taliban?

Not lack of funds for reconstruction, so it seems.

Money has come to Afghanistan, both

from private donors and from the US and other governments, but very little has been used for projects that would both create employment and improve the daily life of Afghans. For example, one of the major highways in the country — the Kabul-Kandahar highway — is in total disrepair; what was once a six-hour car ride is now a dangerous three-day trip that few are willing to undertake, with obviously disastrous consequences for trade and economy. Much-needed irrigation systems have been neglected and are now unusable.[2]

Instead of being used in major reconstruction projects, funds have been funneled mainly in two directions:

- investments known as "quips," quick and relatively inexpensive projects, easy to plan and manage and easy to abandon if difficulties arise.[3]
- payments of hefty fees to the warlords who guard airports and major roads and

(Continued on page 4)

Peak Oil: A Turning Point for Humankind

A summary by Allan Rubin of an article by Colin J. Campbell in www.culturechange.org

Colin Campbell is a world-famous petroleum geologist and an expert on oil depletion. In this article, he discusses the coming crisis in the economy resulting from depletion of the world's oil supply.

According to Campbell, "The fundamental driver of the 20th Century's economic prosperity has been an abundant supply of cheap oil." This supply is becoming depleted. Because of extraction of the world's oil reserves, oil production will be peaking — around 2010 or so — and then declining at a rate of around 2 percent per year. At the same time, demand is increasing by around 2 percent a year. According to the author, the likely result is an eventual worldwide economic crisis.

First, some oil history

The first oil supplies came from the United States. By the 1970s, oil production in the United States was said to have peaked — production tapered off because the oil reserves became depleted.

The next source of supplies was the Middle East, with its vast oil deposits of high-quality (and cheap to refine) oil. The major oil companies lost their control over those oil reserves as the Middle Eastern countries sought a greater share of the profits. The oil crisis of 1973 was a result of some of these oil-exporting countries using their oil as a weapon in their conflict over Israel's occupation of Palestine.

Later developments brought in oil from fields in Alaska, the North Sea, Africa and elsewhere. The oil from these fields is of poorer quality than Middle Eastern oil — expensive to extract, but technological developments made it all possible. These new areas faced the same depletion pattern as in the United States. Campbell points out that the oil has peaked in the North Sea after only 27 years of production.

The remaining frontier is the ocean, but the geology is such that only a few areas can have any oil. The ocean has a potential of 85 billion barrels — only a four-year supply. This deepwater oil is also subject

to depletion — at a faster rate than in the other areas — in addition to being very expensive to extract.

What does it all mean?

According to Campbell, "The reality is that there is no real reprieve. . . . It means that there is no ceiling to oil prices other than from falling demand. That in turn spells economic recession and a crumbling stock market, the first signs of which are already being felt."

The US is the most vulnerable, because of its high demand and depletion of its own oil reserves. The US gets more than 50 percent of its oil from imports. This rate of imports is not sustainable as other countries pass their own production peaks. And it puts even more pressure on the Middle East to make up the shortfall in supplies. The Middle Eastern countries are working flat out to try to offset the decline of their old fields.

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Aldermen Pass Anti-USA PATRIOT Act Resolution

(Continued from page 1)

freedom of religion, speech, and association, including privacy and open government." The resolution presented with the citizens' petition in May requests the mayor to instruct the Police Department and other departments and officers of the city, to the extent that such is legal, not to cooperate with federal officials if such cooperation violates the constitutional principles of equality, due process of law, freedom of religion, speech and association, individual privacy or open government.

Early during the August 11 meeting, an amendment proposed by Alderman Robert Gerst to the resolution already altered in committee would have left it to Congress "or a court of appropriate jurisdiction" to determine the constitutionality of the USA PATRIOT Act. Responding to the Gerst amendment, which was eventually defeated, Alderman Ken Parker urged his colleagues to stay with "the core of the issue." Every member of the Board, he said, has "a list of violations of civil rights" under the PATRIOT Act, and he added, "There has been racial profiling under this Act." In short, Parker emphasized, "We know already that there is something very bad here."

Members of Newton Dialogues on Peace and War, some of whom attended the August 11 meeting, have expressed diverse opinions of the resolution approved by the Aldermen. Libby Gerlach, who has long been active in NDPW, was enthusiastic about "the process" that had led to the passage of the resolution on August 11. She thought that Alderman Robert Gerst's exercise, at a July Board of Aldermen meeting, of his legislative right to delay discussion of the citizens' proposed resolution by "chartering" it had led to an excellent discussion by the Aldermen and to passage of a measure better than the original one.

However, one leader of the citizens' petition movement, Ernest (Tony) Winsor, who expressed gratitude for the strong support given to the original resolution by some Aldermen, called the final resolution "tepid." He referred especially to the absence of any reference there to the denial by federal officials, since the USA PATRIOT Act was passed, of the civil liberties of persons of Arabic and Middle Eastern descent, in the United States and at

Guantanamo. *Boston Globe* (March 26, 2003) and *New York Times* (March 9, 2003) reports gave him reason to believe torture had been used on terrorism "suspects" at Guantanamo.

Dan Shaw, also a leader of the petition movement — as well as a founding member of Newton Dialogues — expressed a different view of the Aldermen's measure in a letter to the *Newton TAB* (August 20).

Congratulating the Board of Aldermen "for their principled vote on Aug. 11," he said that the resolution "raises public awareness about the dangers of the USA PATRIOT Act," referred to NDPW's having gathered over 800 signatures on its petition (by the time of the Board's vote) and said that the petition effort will continue "as we move towards getting a state wide resolution passed."

What Happened to Afghanistan?

(Continued from page 3)

whose approval and protection are necessary to move goods or people from one province to the other

Warlords (among them the Northern Alliance) are the very forces on which the "coalition" relied to defeat the Taliban; some of them were exiles that the US helped back in the country to organize resistance. They are now the same forces that openly defy the Karzai government and that have instituted a Mafioso-style parallel government. Extortion is probably the least of the crimes committed by the warlords, who appointed themselves as "governors": all sorts of human rights violations, among them kidnapping and rape, have been documented.

"[Warlords] have private armies, raise private funds, pursue private interests and control private treasuries," according to the *Guardian*. [4] In this situation, aid agencies are unable to operate. The *New York Times* reports that the weekend of Aug. 9-10 "the United Nations suspended road travel for its workers in southern Afghanistan after several Afghan aid workers were tied up and beaten. Last week six Afghan soldiers and a driver for the aid group Mercy Corps were killed in an attack on an office in Helmand." [5]

Why has the situation deteriorated to this point?

If security is a *sine qua non* for reconstruction and for the distribution of much-needed aid, why haven't the central government and the coalition forces done more to enforce it? According to the *Guardian*, "security never came because, when the Taliban fell, the US would not agree to the deployment of the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) outside Kabul. Why? Because the US defense secretary,

Donald Rumsfeld, was already planning the invasion of Iraq and did not want men tied down in peacekeeping." The result was that the Pentagon gave the job to the warlords, in a "washing of hands" conscious decision. So much for the "we-will-not-forget-you" rhetoric.

The *International Herald Tribune* reports that in May Karzai, exasperated by the lawlessness of some of the "governors" (i.e., warlords) summoned four or five of them to Kabul with the intention of dismissing them, but was discouraged from doing this by the US. Why? Some warlords still provide much-needed security for the US army; for example, the Kandahar airport is made safe for the US army by the local warlord, after payment of a hefty fee, of course. [6]

Superficially, the situation in Afghanistan might look OK: a central government exists, money is poured into the country [7] and refugees return home after years abroad. But the reality is another story. Warlords run their own fiefdoms using funds that should be used for reconstruction, refugees returning home find a country that offers them no security and no employment, fundamentalism is on the rise (the number of girls attending schools is dwindling rather than expanding as predicted) and Afghanistan is once again the world's largest supplier of heroin (going back to a sad record set in pre-Taliban days).

In a situation in which real power rests in the hands of lawless individuals, one wonders how fair and valid elections can take place as planned in June 2004 and how the new constitution — whose first draft is due to be published in September and completed in October by a Loya Jirga [8] — can be enforced.

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The World Trade Organization: Free Trade for Whom?

A Guide to Some Interesting Internet Links by Frank Propp

Since September 11, 2001, many of us have wondered why so many people in the developing world, while horrified at the results of terrorism, feel a sense of satisfaction that individuals like them are striking out against the West and its values. Could it be that the climate for terrorism has been set by the resentment they feel at the unfair division of the world's resources? Why did the terrorists choose the Pentagon and the World Trade Center for destruction? Could it be possible that US political power, as projected by our military, and our economic power, symbolized by the World Trade Center and exerted through various international trade treaties, are deeply resented by millions of people as a direct threat to their livelihood and well-being and that the terrorists choose their targets with this in mind?

The World Trade Organization: Free or Coerced Trade?

One of the major organizations through which the US (as well as the European Union) exerts tremendous influence is the World Trade Organization (WTO), which by 2002 had grown to 144 member states. The WTO has the authority to create trade agreements, enforce existing ones and settle disagreements among member states. These trade agreements cover both merchandise and services, terms that include areas not previously covered, such as farm products under merchandise and the environment under services.

Its members vote its rules, which then become legally binding on all member states. If WTO trade rules conflict with national, state or local laws, it is the latter that must be changed.

Opponents of the WTO charge that the organization is undemocratic because its trade rules are generated at private hearings closed to the public and press and are mandated without regard for the institutions involved or for popular opinion. They charge that the WTO is too powerful because it can declare the laws and rules of nations to be in violation of trade rules.

Source: MSN Learning & Research, World Trade Organization, <http://encarta.msn.com/encnet/refpages/RefArtTextOnly.aspx?refid=761579951&print=0>

Civil Society Organizations Fight the WTO

The US consumer group Public Citizen and civil society groups worldwide have released EU secret negotiating documents

leaked from the WTO's service-sector negotiations and have called for a moratorium on current service talks.

"These documents expose the threat that the [WTO's] closed-door talks pose to essential public services upon which people worldwide rely daily," according to the business watchdog site CorpWatch. "They reveal the sweeping scope of issues now on the negotiating table. The issues include the privatization and deregulation of public energy and water utilities, postal services, higher education and alcohol distribution systems; the right for foreign firms to obtain US government small-business loans; and extreme deregulation of private-sector service industries such as insurance, banking, mutual funds and securities."

"The documents demonstrate that a sweeping array of basic consumer and environmental safeguards at all levels of government [in the US] are being placed on a chopping block in a closed, secretive venue," said Public Citizen President Joan Claybrook.

David Waskow, trade specialist for Friends of the Earth, noted, "The attempt by the European Union to liberalize what the WTO calls 'environmental services' is in fact an attack on public services for water and wastewater."

Source: "Call for Moratorium on Current WTO Service Talks," CorpWatch.org, February 26, 2003, <http://www.corpwatch.org/bulletins/PBD.jsp?articleid=5712>

US Supports Hunger to Promote Genetically Modified Crops

Friends of the Earth International has charged the US government, including Congress, with requiring acceptance of genetically modified (GM) crops as a prerequisite for US aid and food donations. The US is also filing a formal complaint with the WTO against the EU's ban on GM crops. European countries feel that GM crops have not been sufficiently tested and are worried about the long-term environmental damage. This in turn has caused African countries to fear that if GM crops are introduced into their countries, either as food or seeds, the EU market will be closed to them.

"The U.S. should stop playing with hunger," Nnimmo Bassey, director of the Environmental Rights Action of Friends of the Earth Nigeria Chapter, was quoted as saying. "Having attempted to use the USAID's (Agency for International Development) famine relief program to dump unwanted GM maize in Southern Africa, [the US] is now

resorting to even more unacceptable methods. *African nations should have the right to decide what their people are fed.*" [Italics added.]

Source: Jim Lobe, "US Exploiting Hunger to Promote GM Crops, Group Charges," One-World.net, May 26, 2003, www.commondreams.org/headlines03/0526-02.htm

WTO Policies on Tariffs Unfair to Poor Countries

The WTO is preparing for a meeting in Cancun, Mexico, this month. Negotiators are studying a new draft proposal to further liberalize global trade. Oxfam claims that the joint US-EU-Canadian blueprint for non-farm products "would impose the deepest tariff cuts on some of the world's poorest countries, with industrialized countries offering only minor concessions." It said that under the plan the US and EU would face tariff cuts of 24 percent and 28 percent, respectively, while countries such as India, Brazil, Indonesia, Thailand and Ghana would face cuts greater than 70 percent, and Bolivia and Kenya 80 percent.

Source: Larry Elliot, "EU & US Demands Threaten Trade Round," *Guardian*, August 26, 2003, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/business/story/0,3604,1029305,00.html>

Government Subsidies Harm Developing Countries

This month's WTO meeting in Cancun may see a battle between the West and the developing world, given India's rejection of a last-minute deal on farm subsidies offered by Washington and the EU. Kevin Watkins, Oxfam's head of research, said, "This is world class comedy from the world's subsidy super-powers. They are completely renegeing on the commitments they made two years ago."

According to a *Guardian* report, Watkins said, "Europe and the US appeared to have agreed to turn a blind eye to each other's lavish spending on farm subsidies. Campaigners say this encourages mountains of surplus food, which is dumped in the developing world, bankrupting local farmers in the process. Washington enraged its trading partners last year when it increased spending on farm subsidies by \$180 billion over the following 10 years."

Source: Charlotte Denny and Andrew Osborn, "Farm Deal Puts WTO Talks at Risk," *Guardian*, August 14, 2003, www.guardian.co.uk/wto/article/0,2763,1018440,00.html

Remembering September 11: Waging World Peace

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the complete story; the actual cost of the Iraq war may be 40 percent higher than the stated cost.[4]

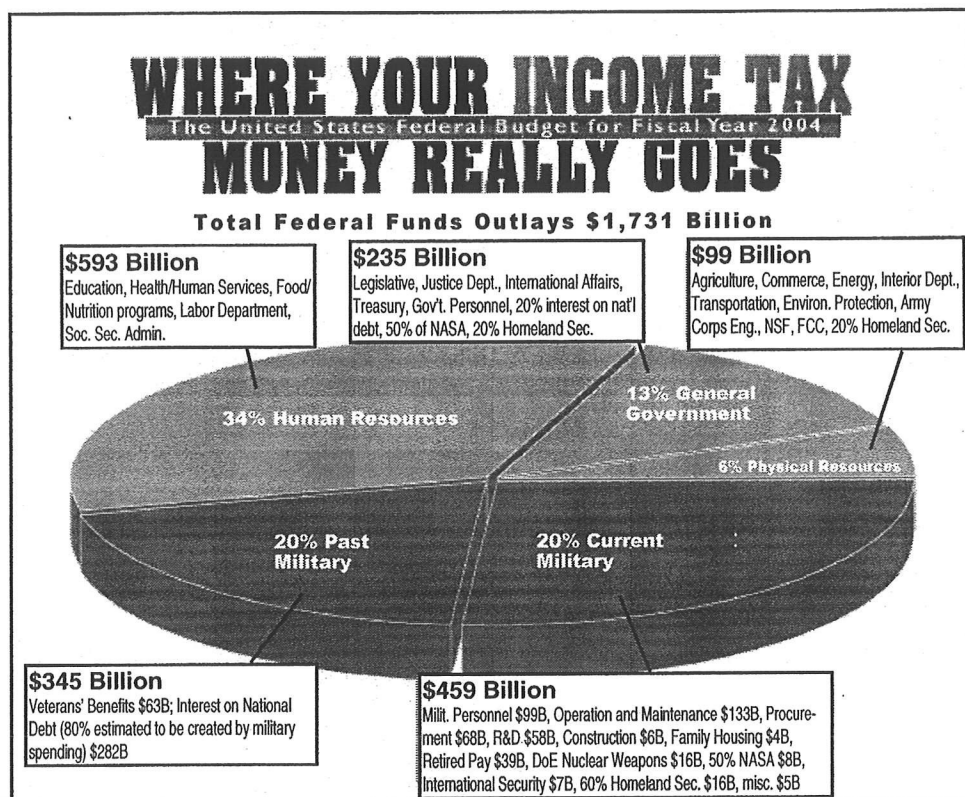
Until this week no government official would say exactly what it would cost to remain in Iraq and pay for its reconstruction. Then on September 7, President Bush asked Congress for \$87 billion — double what has been spent already — to continue to pay for reconstruction in Iraq and to fight terrorism in Iraq and Afghanistan. He spoke of a "lengthy war" with no set time to end it, i.e., no exit strategy.[5]

These figures are a blockbuster to a less-than-strong economy and in the context of deficits, which are nationwide. The state budget deficits, according to the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities, are in the range of \$60 billion to \$85 billion for fiscal year 2004, which begins in most states on July 1, 2003. The deficits represent between 13 percent and 18 percent of all state expenditures. These state deficits are steeper than they have been at any time in the last half-century. The federal government is taking money away from states and states are taking money away from cities. Governments, which are interdependent, are scrambling to avoid a tumbling collapse like the recent electrical grid blackout.[6]

American citizens are asking whether the federal government should reexamine its policies. Pennsylvania's recent budget deficit was \$2 billion and the city of Pittsburgh's deficit is \$60 million; citizens are asking whether spending \$60 billion a year in Iraq and Afghanistan is really what Americans want to do with their money. The entire Pennsylvania and Pittsburgh deficits are equal to 12 1/2 days' worth of current US activity in Iraq and Afghanistan. The Pittsburgh *Post-Gazette* asks, "Is that the way we should go?"[7]

Residents in Newton, Massachusetts, should ask the same question. Is there a connection between local deficits and taxation and national policies?

America's founders were totally against government debt. They wanted to promptly pay off the debt induced by the Revolutionary War. Alexander Hamilton (Federalist Paper No. 7) called for the "extinguishment of all debt." Thomas Jefferson later wrote, "I place economy among the first and most important of republican virtues, and public debt as the greatest of dangers to be



War Resisters League bases this breakdown on the proposed 2004 federal budget. For a complete explanation, see www.warresisters.org/piechart.htm. No funds for the war in Iraq are included in President Bush's proposed 2004 budget.

feared." But some citizens today would say, "Isn't this debt OK to fight the 'war on terror'?"

Fiscal conservatives say that the nation could go bankrupt if this war on terror continues. Despite these concerns, Congress passed tax cuts while requesting money for the war. Budget cuts were made in education, health aid and veterans' benefits. And with other government deficits, there is no state and local money to fix the infrastructures, the roads, bridges, and water and electrical systems. Meanwhile US corporations go offshore into tax havens. The IRS estimates the loss to the Treasury at around \$70 billion a year.[8]

How do we stop this mounting debt and treat the problem of terrorism?

The American colonists knew how to stop fighting against one another. They decided to build a new republic and pull out of the Middle Ages. They created a new government and stopped British imperialism in the colonies. And so today we need to develop a new system of governance at the global level to stop terrorism,

reduce the likelihood of nuclear war and prevent an economic depression and an ecosystem failure.

We do this by supporting international law and global associations.

We begin by changing current government policies. The Bush administration rejected the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty, which prevents arms races. It rejected an international agreement to track the global trade in small arms. It rejected a protocol to the Biological Weapons Treaty, to make it more verifiable. It rejected the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty. It rejected the Kyoto treaty on reducing carbon emissions to reverse the global warming trend. It rejected an international convention to ban child soldiers. It rejected the START III treaty with Russia to codify and verify planned deep cuts in nuclear arms. It rejected the International Criminal Court (ICC).

The US Senate did not ratify the Convention on the Rights of the Child. It did not ratify the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against

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Women (CEDAW). It did not ratify the Landmines Ban and the Ottawa Treaty. It did not ratify the Law of the Sea; indeed, the US was the only country to refuse.

To wage peace as a moral equivalent to war, we must support all these international laws and treaties. We need to build trust around the world. [9]

America has placed expensive troops in more than 100 countries and military bases in more than 60 countries. Since the tragedy of 9/11 we have added military bases in 7 new countries. We have close to 200,000 troops in Iraq and the Middle East. Without building a system of world law and mutual governance, US troops could be sent to change other foreign regimes, as in Iran, Saudi Arabia and North Korea. The US then becomes the next World Empire like the Roman Empire and the British Empire, which American colonists fought against in 1776. Historians know that all empires became self-destructive and turn to dust.[10]

Sharing the cost of keeping the peace with other nations in a system of mutual governance means building a world Peace Force and establishing world law and a system of world courts. This would allow for a gradual reduction in government expenditures and an ability to pay off the debt. A democratic global governing system is a first step to stop terrorism and avoid economic disaster.

How do we establish a new governing system?

We start with a global weapons inspection system. The US should ask all nations to join us in taking the first steps: (1) renounce the first use of nuclear weapons; (2) end the development, testing and production of nuclear warheads; (3) seek agreement on the mutual and verified destruction of nuclear weapons; (4) strengthen nonproliferation efforts by ratifying the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty; (5) locate and reduce fissile material worldwide and negotiate a ban on its production. We should take nuclear weapons off hair-trigger alert and work with all other nuclear powers — the UK, France, Russia, China, India, Pakistan and Israel. We should reduce the risk of accidental or unauthorized use of these weapons.[11]

The US must start a new global system

of mutual security that will protect all nations from terrorism. This means sharing the load for policing the world and reducing US military costs abroad.

World Trade and Politics

A democratic system of international law and order should equally be applied to world trade. Without government regulations in world trade, a recession could result in a worldwide depression. Global corporations operate increasingly outside national laws. They become arrogant and go bankrupt. WorldCom Inc. filed for Chapter 11 bankruptcy protection in the largest filing in US history with reported assets of \$104 billion.

We need a new system of rules for world trade. Big corporations move along with big governments around the world. A good chunk of the money being spent for the Iraq war goes into the pockets of companies like the Kellogg, Brown & Root subsidiary of Halliburton, Vice President Dick Cheney's former company, which just got another \$200 million assignment to build housing for US troops in Iraq. This is why some people see world trade as a strategy for the US to build a global empire.

Iraq "reconstruction" will involve global profiteering. This is what the destruction of the World Trade Center could be all about. Global firms and trade associations (like the American Petroleum Institute, Bechtel, Boeing, the Carlyle Group, Dyncorp, Halliburton, Intelsat, Lockheed-Martin, Military Resources Professionals, Raytheon and more) work in close collaboration with US foreign policy.[12]

We need a new Bretton Woods Conference. The 1944 conference established global finance institutions like the World Bank that we have today, but now we need a new blueprint for world trade under a civil system of governance and a new legal system for global banking and finance. Global investment should harmonize with what economists call "human goods." Investment in human goods includes the well-being of the environment and the advancement of human welfare, justice, fairness, education, equity and community.

[13] (See "The World Trade Organization: Free Trade for Whom?" in this issue.)

American troops can be a stabilizing force abroad only as part of an interna-

tional security system. Their presence now and especially over the long haul will provoke worldwide resentment, rebellion and more terrorism. But if we work steadily with other nations on international law and order and attain long-lasting security at home, we could bring most troops back home. The federal government should support a policy for international law and global associations based on democracy. Then we can reduce our defense expenditures. We might start a civil revolution in which we would be waging peace, not war.

For ideas on how this could be done, see our button **A New Vision** on the opening page of our Web site.

Notes

Some of these notes have been condensed for space considerations. Complete notes with more details can be found on our Web site, www.alternative-views.org.

[1] For a view of the total debt at this moment, see Michael Hodges, "Grandfather Economic Report," <http://mwhodges.home.att.net/debt.htm>. Also see the War Resisters League pie chart on page 5 of this issue. An "Analysis of the Fiscal 2003 Supplemental Appropriations Bill Conference Report" can be found at Council for a Livable World, April 16, 2003, www.clw@clw.org.

For an analysis of the difficulties in estimating the public debt, see Robert Eisner, "The Federal Debt," *The Concise Encyclopedia of Economics*, www.econlib.org/library/Enc/FederalDebt.html.

[2] Different groups calculate the national debt differently. The WRL, for instance, leaves out government trust funds, such as Social Security, which are based largely on income taxes. For details, see War Resisters League, <http://www.warresisters.org/piechart.htm>.

[3] Stephan J. Glain, "Study Says Deficit Could Soar," *Boston Globe*, August 27, 2003, A1. The Center on Budget and Policy Priorities says that the new CBO ten-year projections "significantly understate the likely size of future deficits." Richard Kogan, "Deficit Picture Even Grimmer Than New CBO Projections Suggest," August 26, 2003, <http://www.cbpp.org/8-26-03bud.htm>.

[4] For more on this calculation and to see how not waging war on Iraq could save money for public health, education, energy independence and housing, see "The Cost of the War on Iraq," <http://costofwar.com/index.html>. Also see Mary Dalrymple, "Senate Kills Plan to Detail Iraq War Cost," *Guardian*, July 16, 2003, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/us/latest/story/0,1282,-2915320,00.html>. The CBO estimate is recorded at <http://usgovinfo.about.com/library/weekly/aa19qwarcost.htm>.

[5] Dana Milbank and Mike Allen, "Bush to Double Iraq Spending," *Washington Post*, September 8, 2003.

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- [6] The Center of Budget and Policy Priorities, <http://www.cbpp.org/12-23-02sfp.htm>.
- [7] "The Cost of War: The Pentagon's Figures Are Bad News for the Deficit," Editorial, *Post-Gazette* (Pittsburgh), July 12, 2003, <http://www.post-gazette.com/forum/20030712edwarcost0712p1.asp>.
- [8] Robert Kuttner, "War Distracts from Bush's Budget Cuts," *Boston Globe*, March 26, 2003, A15. Also see Peronet Despeignes, "White House Shelved Deficit Report," *Financial Times*, May 29, 2003.
- [9] The Harvard scholar William James wrote an essay, "The Moral Equivalent of War" (1906), calling upon citizens to command the courage, imagination, strength and self-sacrifice that attracts people to war and to use those qualities for peace. James said, "The war against war is going to be no holiday excursion or camping party. . . . The martial type of character can be bred without war." And we are saying that to wage world peace, we must muster those same virtues of leadership to reverse the policies of the Bush administration.
- [10] Before September 11, 2001, according to the Defense Department, military personnel were conducting "temporary operations" in about 100 countries. Following the September 11 terrorist attacks, a rapid increase in the number and geographical spread of US military bases commenced.
- [11] A nuclear bomb can now be produced as a portable weapon. It can be condensed to 24 x 16 x 8 inches with a critical mass of plutonium (U-233). If a bomb like this went off in New York City, 100,000 people could be killed and many more thousands would suffer from radiation. The financial district could be wiped out, which means the whole country could lose trillions of dollars in one terrible moment. And if the bomb went off in Washington, DC, we would lose our central government. This same terrible event — remembering Hiroshima — could happen in Israel, or any nation. See <http://www.foxnews.com/story/0,2933,76990,00.html>. Also see "Suitcase Bomb: What Is It?" *Fox News*, January 29, 2003.
- [12] For more information, on what is happening, see the CitizenWorks site, <http://www.citizenworks.org/corp/warcontracts/warcontracts.php>, and the Center for Public Integrity site, for example, Phillip van Niekerk, "Making a Killing: The Business of War," http://www.publici.org/dtaweb/ICIJ_BOW.asp?L1=10&L2=65&L3=0&L4=0&L5=0&State=.
- [13] Some ideas on civil governance can be found in a book by the International Forum on Globalization, *Alternatives to Economic Globalization: A Better World Is Possible* (California: Berrett-Koehler, 2002).

Peak Oil: A Turning Point for Humankind

(Continued from page 3)

Campbell concludes, "The US has to somehow find a way to cut its demand by at least 5 percent a year. . . . All of this is . . . clearly revealed by even the simplest analysis of discovery and production trends. The inexplicable part is our great reluctance to look reality in the face and at least make some plans for what promises to be one of the greatest economic and political discontinuities of all time. Time is of the essence."

Source: www.culturechange.org/issue19/peakoil.htm

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What Happened in Afghanistan?

(Continued from page 4)

If Afghanistan was to represent a nation-building success that would quiet the skeptics and serve as a model to neighboring countries, the experiment has failed so far. To those who still claim that slowly but surely Iraq will embrace democracy and stability and security will reign, we can only answer with a simple question: "What happened to Afghanistan?"

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- [1] Waldman, "Over 50 Die."
- [2] Chayes, "Inside Afghanistan."
- [3] Chayes, "Inside Afghanistan."
- [4] Hilton, "Now We Pay."
- [5] Waldman, "Over 50 Die."
- [6] Chayes, "Inside Afghanistan."
- [7] Waldman, "Over 50 Die."
- [8] ReliefWeb, "Afghanistan: Special Report."

Newton Dialogues on Peace and War

Dedicated to democratic dialogue and discussion.

We oppose militarism and unilateral, preventive wars.

We support cooperative security strategies through the United Nations.

We oppose unwise, unjust tax cuts and support a just economy that provides support for education, health care and the environment.

We oppose the USA PATRIOT Act and support the protection of our cherished civil rights and liberties.

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- Join our weekly vigil — every Thursday, 5 to 6 p.m., corner of Beacon and Centre Streets, Newton Center.
- Join our monthly meetings: usually held at 7:30, second Sunday every month, Eliot Church, 474 Centre Street, Newton Center.
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Alternative Views

www.alternative-views.org

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October 16, 2003

COMMENTARY

Who Will Control the Mass Media?

by Severyn Bruyn

Such as it is, the press has become the greatest power within the Western World, more powerful than the legislature, the executive and judiciary. One would like to ask: by whom has it been elected and to whom is it responsible?

—Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn

In communist countries, the mass media (radio, newspapers, and television) are a monopoly of government. In capitalist countries, they are a monopoly of business. The mass media in the United States are concentrated in a "private domain," not in a "public domain." The media are chartered to advance profit, not the common good. Their purpose is to make money, not to work in the public interest.[1]

What is wrong here?

In a democratic society the media should be in a public domain where people across all sectors and classes of society can participate in a free flow of ideas. Instead,

a select group of people controls the media in both communist and capitalist nations.

In the US, nearly all media markets are based on government-granted monopoly privileges and subsidies — copyright, postal subsidies, monopoly radio and TV licenses, cable TV and satellite TV franchises. The question is: In whose name and toward what values are those policies made?

The FCC decided on June 2, 2003, to put big private corporations more in charge of the media than ever before. The fight to roll back the FCC's relaxation of media ownership rules is now being debated on Capitol Hill, but the outcome does not look good for the public.

The five commissioners, led by Republican Chair Michael K. Powell, adopted new media ownership rules on June 2. The rules lift the ban preventing newspapers

from owning television stations in the same city, and they allow broadcast companies such as ABC and Sinclair Broadcast Group to buy more television stations at the local and national levels, increasing their reach and influence. The FCC's two Democratic commissioners — Jonathan S. Adelstein and Michael J. Copps — voted against the rules changes. Adelstein issued a 39-page dissent.[2]

The Senate sought corrective action immediately. In late June, the Commerce Committee passed the Stevens-Hollings bill, which would roll back the national ownership cap and reinstate the ban on cross-media ownership. The effort to pass this legislation out of committee received the support of many senators. The bill now has 44 cosponsors, including several Republicans. But despite these moves toward

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ANALYSIS

Water, Social Justice and the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict

by Daniela Bartalesi-Graf

While the media are covering the resurgence of SARS or the West Nile virus in the West, both responsible for a few hundred deaths a year, the silent deaths of two million children every year due to lack of safe water and proper sanitation go largely unreported or overlooked along with such grave afflictions of the third world as malaria, AIDS, famine, civil war and so on.

How to make safe water accessible to all is both the most ignored and one of the most urgent problems in the world.

Some data will illustrate the scale of this "water crisis":

- 1.4 billion people (one in four worldwide) have no access to safe water,[1] with the following distribution: 38% of the African population, 19% in Asia, 15% in Latin America, 12% in the Pacific islands
- lack of proper sanitation afflicts even more people — 2.3 billion — distributed as follows: 40% of the African population, 52% in Asia, 22 in Latin America, 47% in the Pacific islands[2]

Water shortages and access to bad water are problems as pressing as the drying up of oil reserves; however, alternatives to oil have been found — such as wind and solar power — but water has absolutely no alternative. The process of desalination, seen by many as the definitive solution to the water crisis, is imple-

mented in many countries. However, it requires high amounts of energy and is very expensive[3] and consequently cannot be offered as a viable alternative everywhere.

Intensive agriculture heavily depends on the availability of great amounts of water. In order to sustain their growing population, countries like China have consistently pumped water deeper and deeper from their aquifers[4] water tables are now so low in China and elsewhere that electric pumps have to dig more than one kilometer underground to find water. The same phenomenon has occurred in India and in the US. Using electric pumps to find water at such depths becomes economically unsustainable for farmers, with the result that production of wheat and other grains essential to feed vast populations in third world countries could be seriously endangered.

The privatization of water resources is

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EDITOR'S NOTE

Possible Approaches to Current World Crises

A recurring theme in *Alternative Views* has been the necessity of multilateral cooperation, especially through or with the aid of the United Nations, to mitigate global inhumanities. In this number, we examine several world crises that cry out for long-range planning and action at a supranational level.

Severyn Bruyn's "Who Will Control the Mass Media?" addresses the thorny problem of the world's press: it has been controlled in "communist" countries by a "political elite" and in countries politically democratic by chiefly profit-driven corporations. The article asks, "How can the media serve the public, not just big business? . . . serve citizens of the world, not just citizens of one nation?" It calls attention to two upcoming media conferences — one in November in Madison, Wisconsin, the other a December "global summit" in Geneva. Neither of these meetings will be broadcast by American mass media nor make daily newspaper headlines. Is this press neglect the consequence of participation in the conferences by defenders of the public interest who, at Madison, will press for "strong antitrust enforcement" against media monopolies, and at Geneva will consider what are desirable "standards" for the Internet? Severyn Bruyn believes we need a new, international, possibly UN-affiliated media system that would represent "civil society" as well as nations and powerful corporations.

"Water, Social Justice and the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict," by Daniela Bartalesi-Graf, focuses on the widespread absence of safe water and proper sanitation among the billions in our world, an absence that causes the death of two million children every year. Like other international crises Daniela Bartalesi-Graf mentions — such as malaria, AIDS and famines — this one cannot be solved by nations acting alone. Even if Italy's government were to tackle the problem of the Sicilian water supply, controlled by private companies which during the dry summer months "sell water at very steep prices to local communities," this wouldn't stop privatization, in Bolivia and other countries, of the "blue gold."

Privatization aside, however, the disparities in average yearly use of water per capita between temperate Newton, Massachusetts, where 169 cubic meters are consumed, and hot, dry Israel — 100 cubic meters — and the Palestinian territories — 30 cubic meters — are striking. Americans will eventually be forced to conserve water, but only conciliation of the Middle East conflict through steady international pressures could make for a more equitable distribution of the precious liquid in that region.

Richard C. Sterne's report on three newspaper pieces by writers sympathetic to Israel outlines the solutions they propose to the settlements problem and the problem of Palestinian violence. Avraham Burg, a former Knesset speaker, emphasizes the coming reality of a Palestinian populace larger than the Israeli between the Mediterranean and the Jordan River. He asserts that Israel must become a frankly colonial nation or a truly democratic state that is either binational or completely separate from a Palestinian state that includes the territories — from which Israel must have completely withdrawn its settlements. Arthur Hertzberg (an academic and a rabbi) urges the US to display "tough love" toward both Palestinians and Israelis by reducing annual American aid to Israel that supports existing settlements and by using its influence to dry up "the financial and military support of the Palestinian warmakers." Bernard Avishai, an academic who lives in Israel, proposes UN and NATO implementation of the "nearly final deal" that Clinton negotiated in December 2000, that Arafat accepted last spring and that would give Palestinians the Arab parts of Jerusalem and a state on 95% of its territories.

Frank Propp's "What Happened at Cancun?" makes clear the reason for the failure of the recent World Trade Organization conference: for the first time at such a meeting, the West was challenged by an alliance of developing countries, protesting vigorously against US and EU protectionist agricultural policies. For if the relatively very wealthy Western countries were to reduce their farm subsidies, the members of the alliance would be able to export more than they do and import less. Frank Propp also notes, however, that extremely poor developing countries like Kenya, Uganda, Honduras and Pakistan did not join the alliance, out of a belief that it was not adequately addressing their major need: to defend their "vulnerable agricultural sectors from additional tariff reductions proposed by the WTO."

What the world evidently requires is an international organization — a reformed UN — that could represent primarily peoples, not governments or corporations, in matters of trade, as in matters of communication, and in the fair distribution of basic resources which all of us must have in order to live.

—RCS

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How Can Middle East Despair Be Relieved? Three Convergent Proposals

Summaries of articles, and comparative observations, by Richard C. Sterne

Three opinion pieces — one by Avraham Burg (speaker of the Israeli Knesset from 1999 to 2003) in the *Forward*, the second by Arthur Hertzberg (author of the forthcoming *The Fate of Zionism*) on the *New York Times* op-ed page, and the third by Bernard Avishai (author of *The Tragedy of Zionism: How Its Revolutionary Past Haunts Israeli Democracy*) in the *Boston Sunday Globe* — propose approaches somewhat bolder than those usually advanced in mainstream media toward the problem of the Israeli settlements — the source of much of the violence and despair afflicting both Palestinians and Israelis.

Written with the moral passion of the prophet Isaiah, Burg's article, "A Failed Israeli Society Collapses While Its Leaders Remain Silent," begins by calling the "two pillars" on which the Zionist revolution has always rested, "a just path and an ethical leadership," no longer operative. Urging Diaspora Jews to speak out, he asserts that the 2,000-year struggle for Jewish survival

has come down "to a state of settlements, run by an amoral clique of corrupt law-breakers who are deaf both to their citizens and to their enemies." Vividly he contrasts the comfort of Zionists in West Bank settlements such as Beit El and Ofra — where "from the window you can gaze through the geraniums and bougainvilleas and not see the occupation" — with the "humiliating experience of the despised Arab who must creep for hours along the pocked, blockaded roads assigned to him. One road for the occupier, one road for the occupied."

"Israel," he declares, "having ceased to care about the children of the Palestinians, should not be surprised when they ... blow themselves up in the centers of Jewish escapism. They consign themselves to Allah in our places of recreation, because their own lives are torture. They spill our blood in our restaurants in order to ruin our appetites, because they have children and parents at home who are hungry and humiliated."

Burg then outlines a speech that the Israeli prime minister should deliver to his people. The speech would emphasize the absence of "a clear Jewish majority" between the Jordan River and the Mediterranean Sea, the impossibility of Israel's keeping "a Palestinian majority under an Israeli boot" while considering itself "the only democracy in the Middle East," and the nonexistence of any "humane and moral and Jewish means" by which Israel could "keep the territories and preserve a Jewish majority in the world's only Jewish state."

The prime minister should plainly state, says Burg, that unless the Israelis were willing to achieve "a Jewish majority" by expelling the Arabs en masse, the only other way to achieve it would be by separating "ourselves from [the Arabs] absolutely," by removing every one of the settlements and drawing "an internationally recognized border between the Jewish national home and the Palestinian national home."

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Water, Social Justice and the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict

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a practice that aggravates this crisis worldwide. In many parts of the world, private companies "own" water; in other words, they decide its price and determine its distribution. One extreme example of this comes from Sicily, where private companies controlled by the Mafia own many wells and during the dry summer months sell water at very steep prices to local communities.

Around the world, when water control moves to private hands, local communities suffer. In Bolivia, for example, prices skyrocketed when a private corporation took control of water distribution: writer Bill McKibben points out that "people making \$100 a month were in some cases charged \$20 a month for water." [5]

Water politics worldwide should be based on the simple principle that water, because it is obviously indispensable to life, should not be treated as a commodity that can be owned and sold, or access to which can be denied to some while being

abused by others. One first basic solution to water crises in many parts of the world would be to return control over water distribution to the local communities. [6]

"Water politics" in Israel and the West Bank

Fair water distribution and water conservation are particularly important in the Middle East. The need to coordinate, manage and distribute scarce and seasonal water resources has been felt in the region since ancient times. It was one of the factors that spurred the rise of the first civilizations in the Nile Valley and in the Tigris and Euphrates Valley.

About 9 million people live now in Israel and Palestine (5 million Jews and 3.5 million Palestinians, of whom 1 million are Israeli citizens). Yearly water consumption in Israel is about 2 billion cubic meters. Three aquifers in the occupied West Bank supply about 525 million cubic meters (mcm) to Israel, equivalent to more than one-quarter of Israel's total consump-

tion (65 mcm of these go to the settlements). Palestinians only get 118 mcm from the West Bank aquifers located in their territory. In addition to taking water from these aquifers, Israel controls water access to the Jordan River. In sum, 15% of water from the West Bank is distributed to Palestinians, 85% to Israel. [7]

If the Palestinian people get a little more than one-fifth of the water that Israel gets from the West Bank aquifers, a similar ratio is found in the average per capita water use: 140 cubic meters per year in Palestine versus 580 cubic meters per year in Israel. [8] These figures also take into account agricultural and industrial use. One consequence of this distribution is that the Palestinians manage to irrigate only 11% of their cultivated land, whereas Israel can irrigate 50% of its cultivated land. [9]

Yearly per capita domestic use also shows large disparities: 30 cubic meters in Palestine and 100 cubic meters in Israel. In comparison, the average per capita use in

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Who Will Control the Mass Media?

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reform in the Senate, most observers believe that the Republican leadership in the House would never allow such legislation to come to a vote, thwarting any plans the Senate might have. Rep. Billy Tauzin, the chairman of the Energy and Commerce Committee, has already indicated he will never pick up any FCC bills in his committee.

How can the media serve the public, not just big business? How can the media serve citizens of the world, not just citizens of one nation? How can the media speak to the humanity in people, not just special interests?

These questions will be addressed in a conference coming up next month. We have added a new button in the online edition of *Alternative Views* to provide a continued discussion on the future of the mass media: see New Public Media on our home page.

Who owns the US media?

Civic leaders want to change the ownership of the mass media. A groundbreaking forum will be held on November 7-9 in Madison, Wisconsin, which is designed to address the democratization of the media. The National Conference on Media Reform will participate with civic leaders along with members of Congress, representatives from the Federal Communications Commission (FCC), and leaders of major groups working for civil rights, women's rights, the environment, labor and community development.

National leaders are mobilizing at the grassroots level to develop a more unified action for national reform. The Wisconsin conference will address FCC media ownership rules, media and antitrust claims, low-power radio and TV, Internet governance, copyright issues, children's media regulation, regulation of advertising, cable/satellite and public access, advertising in schools, political advertising/campaign finance and independent media like *Alternative Views*.

This conference will not be broadcast on NBC, ABC, CBS, CNN or Fox News, nor will it make headlines in any daily newspaper. Why?

The conference will address the question of how to prevent concentrated and noncompetitive media markets. Organizers

believe that a new public policy should involve a commitment to strong antitrust enforcement, which does not exist today. The government plays a key role here in applying antitrust laws and providing a basis for independent media outlets to compete with mainline media.

What is the danger in the new FCC rulings? Most Americans — 80 percent — still get their news from local TV and newspapers. The FCC is allowing the consolidation among those main sources of local news under the premise that the Internet and cable television have become the primary source of local information. But this is not the reality because the number of independent owners of media outlets has actually declined in the last 25 years.

Since 1975, two-thirds of independent newspaper owners have disappeared (from 860 to 290). One-third of independent TV owners has gone (540 to 360). The FCC's order sets the stage for more reduction in independent media ownership. If the FCC's rule stands, one news entity could control more than half of a local news market and more than two-thirds of the reporters in that same market.[3]

Political analyst Edward Herman says that the media carry out "propaganda" on behalf of the corporate and political establishment. The corporate media choose the topics to cover for the public, such as the cost of welfare — rather than the costs of the Pentagon. They decide to focus on "terrorism" from America's enemies — rather than the terrorism in states supported by the US (such as Guatemalan State terrorism). They select the "sources of information," such as government officials and conservative think tank representatives — rather than the liberal opposition like the Center for Public Integrity and critics like Ralph Nader or Noam Chomsky. They frame the economic issues, such as GDP growth — rather than the unequal distribution of wealth in the United States. They talk about federal policy effects on inflation — rather than how policy creates unemployment.[4]

The Wisconsin conference will look at the need for a new public media system, but there is equally a need to look at a new global media system. There is no professional media corporation affiliated with an intergovernmental organization like the United Nations, which can address the is-

ssues of war and peace from a global perspective. This will be on the agenda for watchdog groups in the next decade.

Who will control the world's Internet?

Around 189 countries will be attending a global summit in Geneva during December 2003 where policymakers will decide on the best practices and standards for the Internet. This conference also will not be headlined in your newspaper. Why?

The US media system is a central component of the global political economy. There will be a fight over the role of nations in managing the Internet. The business community will represent the US with government officials committed to advancing their corporate agenda.

Mohamed Sharil Tarmizi of the Los Angeles-based Internet Corporation for Assigned Names and Numbers (ICANN) reports that two camps are forming over specific words in a key article to be adopted at the World Summit on the Information Society in December: *intergovernmental* and *international*.

International by definition means that everyone is involved, which includes governments, the private sector and civil society. But the word *intergovernmental* suggests that only governments will be involved, not referring to the whole society. Some governments are arguing that the management of systems of global communication, like Internet protocol (IP), should be done by an intergovernmental organization while others argue for control by the larger society.[5] The main representation from the US at these global settings will come from big media firms with government support to advance their agenda.

Alternative Views will keep you posted on the outcome of these events in our New Public Media section in our online edition.

Notes

- [1] The assertion that the media do not represent the core values of society is argued by many writers and past studies. Here are some examples of research: W. E. Adam and F. Schreibman, *Television Network News: Issues in Content Research* (Washington, DC: George Washington University Press, 1978). D. L. Altheide, *Media power* (Beverly Hills: Sage, 1985). A. N. Crigler, ed., *The Psychology of Political Communication* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan

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What Happened at Cancun?

Developing Countries Form Alliance to Force WTO to Address Their Issues

Summaries of articles by Frank Propp

Basically, because of the different agendas and expectations of developing countries and the postindustrial West, the Cancun Fifth Ministerial meeting of the World Trade Organization (WTO) in September failed. The WTO members came to Cancun hoping to finalize the goals of future negotiations on the Agreement on Agriculture (AoA), which divided them and which had led to the failure of the previous WTO meeting in Doha, Qatar, in November 2001.

The division at Doha came between those countries that primarily export and those that primarily import. The major developing exporting countries wanted to work toward the elimination of all tariffs, domestic support and export subsidies as soon as possible so they would have broad access to international markets. The US wanted to reduce some domestic subsidies and eliminate exports but not the government-subsidized export credit program and other hidden supports used to protect US markets. The net importing countries, which included most developing countries, were not interested in gaining broad access to international markets but wanted controls on "dumping" by the US and other industrial countries of cheap agricultural goods and fair terms for their exports, such as cocoa, coffee, cotton and sugar.[1] Europe, Japan and Korea wanted to reduce all domestic and export support by some percentage, including export credits used by the US.[2]

Agriculture has become the central issue in the attempt to liberalize trade. Since the vast majority of people in developing countries depend on agriculture for their livelihoods and for food security, an increase in agricultural imports could destroy their small farmers and their self-sufficiency while an increase in exports could markedly increase their national wealth. So the tariffs and subsidizing by the EU and the US of their own farmers clearly disadvantages developing countries, in general, since it makes it possible for agribusinesses in the West to outcompete small farmers in the developing countries even in their own internal markets, drastically reducing farmers' income, while at the same time creating a barrier for their exports to

the West. However, if tariffs and subsidies were reduced by the EU and the US, then the agricultural products of the developing countries would be more competitive on the international market.

In advance of the Cancun meeting, the US and the EU worked out a proposal to present to the meeting. "In describing the proposal to Congress," according to a report by Public Citizen, "the US WTO agriculture negotiator highlighted how the approach avoided any specifics. Indeed, the US-EU text is extremely vague, with no firm modalities [specifics] nor numbers." [3] At Cancun, for the first time, the West's proposal was challenged by a new strategic alliance of developing countries, called the G21, led by Brazil, India, China and South Africa, with their own proposal directed to the needs of the richer developing countries.

"The G21 proposed a radical alternative to the official negotiating text, demanding serious reductions in rich countries' subsidies and greater market access commitments from the rich countries than would be required from developing countries," according to one news report. "The main interest of the G21 countries is in leveling the playing field ... so that the developing countries are better able to compete in international markets and reap greater benefits from agricultural trade." [4]

In an attempt to resolve the conflict between the two proposals at Cancun, the US and the EU offered some limited cuts in subsidies and some reduction in their high tariffs, but even these were hedged with special requirements. [5] The talks collapsed when the G21 and other developing countries united to force the representatives of the developed world to deal with the issues they raised on dumping, subsidies and tariffs. They were supported by more than 50 advocacy groups who issued a joint statement which said in part: "Developing countries have put forward many constructive proposals. That these have been almost completely ignored shows the WTO continues to operate in business-as-usual mode, with the EU and the United States calling the shots." [6]

While the richer developing countries in the G21 held center stage at Cancun,

poorer developing countries, including Kenya, Uganda, Zambia, Honduras, Nicaragua, Pakistan and the Philippines, formed a different group, called the G32. That group, while supportive of the views of the exporting countries of the G21, did not join their alliance because they felt that its position didn't sufficiently address their main concern, to defend their farmers from cheap imports. From the G32 perspective, the G21 failed to address a country's right to defend its vulnerable agricultural sectors from additional tariff reductions proposed by the WTO.

The G32 consists of nations that are largely agricultural, with few cash crops for export and few industries. All nations use tariffs to defend essential industry but for these countries agriculture is their essential industry. If they were forced to continue to reduce their tariffs as the WTO had demanded, then their small farmers would be crushed by cheap imports.

As an example, Indonesia's trade minister, Rini M. Sumarno Soewndi, said that reduced tariffs on soya imports led to dramatic increases in imports and "the ruin of 800,000 local farmers who were unable to compete with heavily subsidized" soya from countries supported by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development. [7]

The suicide of the Korean farmer Lee Kyung-hae was a dramatic reminder of the effect of cheap imports on the income of small farmers. He had written beforehand "that he could no longer support his family and had no other option but to take his own life." [8] The thousands of Mexican and Korean farmers demonstrating in Cancun physically supported his point of view.

It's not just the West that dumps cheap agricultural products. Uganda President Yoweri Museveni wrote a letter to African leaders prior to the meeting in Cancun in which he said, "The focus has been primarily on US anti-dumping laws. . . . However, Africa's biggest challenge is from Asian products that are being dumped onto fledgling African markets and killing domestic industry. . . . My position is that we should criticize anybody who is unfair in trading. The West is parasitic, but we also

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have poor parasitic nations who practice unfair trading.” He gave as examples India, China and Brazil.[9]

The WTO meeting at Cancun failed because it did not deal with the twin problems of internal subsidies and protective tariffs. It did not resolve the question of how to increase exports for some countries without destroying farmers in others. If agriculture is to be included within the WTO structure of free trade — and some question whether it should — these problems will have to be resolved.

So how do we untie this Gordian knot so that all nations gain? Oxfam, after analyzing the rules that govern trade, came out with a set of policy goals that might serve as a beginning. With respect to agriculture they are as follows:

- “Ending the use of conditions attached to IMF-World Bank programs which force poor countries to open their markets regardless of the impact on poor people
- “Improving market access for poor countries and ending the cycle of subsidized agricultural over-production and export dumping by rich countries . . .

- “Creating a new international commodities institution to promote diversification and end over-supply in order to raise prices to levels consistent with a reasonable standard of living for producers, and changing corporate practices so that companies pay fair prices
- “Establishing . . . rules to ensure that . . . farmers are able to save, exchange and sell seeds”

Oxfam answers the question “Why campaign on trade and why now?” with reasons, among them the following:

- “The existing trade system is indefensible and unsustainable. No civilized community should be willing to tolerate the extremes of prosperity and poverty that are generated by current trade practices.”
- “Oxfam believes that change is possible. The international trading system . . . is a system of exchange, managed by rules and institutions that reflect political choices. Those choices can prioritize the interests of the weak and vulnerable, or the interests of the wealthy and powerful. Trade is reinforcing global poverty and inequality because the international trading system is managed to produce these

outcomes.”

- “Large parts of the developing world are becoming enclaves of despair, increasingly marginalized and cut off from the rising wealth generated through trade. Shared prosperity cannot be built on such foundations. Like the economic forces that drive globalization, the anger and social tensions that accompany vast inequalities in wealth and opportunity will not respect national borders.
- “The rules of the game reflect the power of vested interests — but concerted public campaigning can change them.”[10]

Notes

- [1] “WTO Cancun Check List on Key Issues,” *Public Citizen*, <http://www.citizen.org/documents/Cancunchecklist.pdf>, p. 5.
- [2] *Ibid.*, p. 6.
- [3] *Ibid.*, p. 7.
- [4] “Poorest Nations Opt out of WTO Block,” *Reuters Foundation AlertNet*, Sept. 22, 2003, <http://www.alertnet.org/printable.htm?URL=/thefacts/reliefresources/106423847080.htm>.
- [5] Niko Price, “WTO Members at Mexico Meeting Work against Deadline to Reach Trade Accord on Farming,” *SFGate.com*, Sept. 24, 2003,

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Water, Social Justice and the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict

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the city of Newton is 169 cubic meters.[10] Although the difference is quite remarkable as it is (each Newton resident uses on the average more than five times as much water as a Palestinian), one should consider differences in climate — much drier and hotter in Palestine than in our area — and in drinking habits between Newton and Palestine (most of us get our daily intake of fluids from sodas and other bottled drinks rather than tap water).[11] These considerations make the difference in water consumption even more striking.

Inside Palestine, there are isolated villages where water shortages assume the proportion of real crisis: 40% still have no access to running water;[12] their major source of water is still rainwater collected during the rainy season (November to May). Curfews and travel restrictions often implemented by Israel for security reasons also affect those many rural communities that rely on water trucks for their domestic needs. The “security fence,” when it is

completed, will also affect about 32 wells, [13] which will no longer be accessible to Palestinians.

Overpopulation, scarce water resources and their unjust distribution risk creating a real water crisis in the region. Israel has tried to address the need for conservation in agriculture using technologically innovative systems, such as “drip irrigation.”[14] In this type of irrigation, water is distributed underground through a grid system; this avoids the waste due to evaporation, an obvious problem of sprinkle irrigation. However, this system is very expensive and requires a high level of technological support; both conditions are not readily available in Palestinian territories or in other adjacent countries. Despite efforts at conservation, water sources are already close to the red line, below which they can be contaminated by salt deposits.

In conclusion, if access to “blue gold,” as water is often referred to, is a fundamental right of individuals and communities alike, in the Middle East it is also a *sine*

qua non to the attainment of a peaceful coexistence between Israelis and Palestinians.

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- Mid East Web: Mid East water resources, <http://www.mideastweb.org/westbankwater.htm>
- Site of the Applied Research Institute in Jerusalem: Implications of the Segregation Wall in Its Phase 1 on Water Resources, <http://www.arij.org>

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How Can Middle East Despair Be Relieved?

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The prime minister should also make clear to Israelis that if democracy were not to be attained by abandoning "the greater land of Israel, to the last settlement and outpost," it could be attained only by giving everyone, including Arabs, "full citizenship and voting rights." In the latter case, Burg bluntly states, the result "will be that those who did not want a Palestinian state alongside us will have one in our midst, via the ballot box."

Knowing that the Israeli prime minister will not deliver such a speech, Burg asks Israelis and Israel's friends abroad — "Jewish and non-Jewish alike" — to "help Israel to navigate the road map toward our national destiny as a light unto the nations, and a society of peace, justice and equality."

Hertzberg's *New York Times* op-ed piece could be read as a thoughtful response, from such a friend, to Burg's plea. Asserting that renewed Middle East violence makes plain the impossibility of achieving a workable Israeli-Palestinian truce by diplomacy alone, Hertzberg urges the US to pressure the two parties to make concessions "they have refused for decades to make." The most effective way to exert this pressure, he holds, is to take "punitive economic measures . . . by deducting the total cost of the settlements each year" from the US annual allocation to Israel.

Thus, had Hertzberg's proposal been implemented in 2001, when the US subsidy to existing settlements totaled \$400 million, that amount would have been deducted from the grand total (in the billions) of the 2001 aid allocation. Hertzberg then suggests a way of sweetening the pill for Israel: one billion dollars, which he describes as the minimum cost of "the continuing effort [by Israel] to defend, support and increase settlements in the West Bank and Gaza," should be held by the US in escrow, "to help those settlers who would peacefully move back into Israel's pre-1967 borders." Anticipating the criticism of such a US initiative from some supporters of Israel, he says that an American government courageous enough "to force the end of settlement activity" would win much more support among both Israeli and American Jews "than many people in Washington imagine."

While exerting this pressure on the Is-

raeli government, Hertzberg continues, the US must practice comparable "tough love" toward the Palestinians. For "no Israeli government . . . can put up with the defiance of the Palestinian militants who [reiterate] that their ultimate aim is to push the Jews into the sea." Following up, he observes, on the President's order to the Treasury Department to block the Hamas leaders' assets, the US can exert its influence "to dry up the financial and military support of the Palestinian warmakers." And the US can "insist that other countries . . . freeze the assets of militant groups and . . . demand that they also cease supplying the most violent Palestinian factions with weapons." By exerting such economic pressures, Hertzberg believes, our country can "lead both parties to a more livable, untidy accommodation."

Bernard Avishai's article, "Last Exit," declares the "road map" dead in consequence of continued bloodletting on both sides, but finds hope for peace in the moderate views of most Israelis and Palestinians. Seventy-one percent of Palestinians, according to polls conducted by the Palestinian Center for Policy and Survey Research, "will settle for a Palestinian state alongside Israel." And, Avishai says, it's known that 69 percent of Israelis "would give up 'all or most' of the settlements for an enforceable peace." But since "the leaders of both sides lack the daring, will, or power to break out of the current cycle," he declares that Secretary of State Colin Powell must "excite each side's majority with a vision of an internationally sponsored, two-state solution that they can trust without having to trust the other."

This vision, Avishai asserts, was provided by the "bridging proposals" in the "nearly final deal" negotiated in December 2000 by President Clinton, "accepted by Prime Minister Ehud Barak in his government's waning days, and formally endorsed by Arafat last spring."

These proposals, the main points of which have been made public by Israel's negotiator, former Justice Minister Yossi Beilin, include "the formation of a Palestinian state on 95 percent of the territories"; the realization of Palestinians' right of return "through settlement in Palestine" or renunciation "in exchange for cash"; and annexations by Israel and the Palestinians — the former to get 5 percent of the

territories, including some settlements and parts of Jerusalem, the latter to obtain the Arab neighborhoods of Jerusalem — including the Haram al Sharif (the Temple Mount) — and a corridor joining Gaza and the West Bank.

Avishai believes that this plan could now succeed if NATO, given "a temporary UN mandate or trusteeship" in Palestine, were to deploy forces, "first to monitor each side's activities," then to work with the Palestine Authority's police, and "eventually to occupy the areas Israel evacuates." Finally, NATO would conduct under its UN authorization "a double referendum . . . in Israel and Palestine." Obviously anticipating Israeli objections to an international force in the territories — something he notes that Palestinians overwhelmingly want — Avishai suggests that the US might offer Israel "a defense pact, membership in NATO, perhaps a US naval base in Haifa."

Maintaining that such a plan is "our only realistic chance to avert another Bosnia," Avishai points to Israel's "urgent need of international involvement on the economic front" as an inducement to cooperate in the plan's fulfillment. Even "slight discretionary reductions in US guarantees," he notes, like Powell's declaration "that he will cut guarantees in proportion to Israeli spending in the settlements," prompted an emergency trip to Washington by Sharon aides. Avishai maintains that open defiance by Israel of the United States "is impossible."

It is notable that despite differences in emphasis among the articles by Burg, Hertzberg, and Avishai, all three writers observe that there will eventually be a clear Palestinian majority between the Mediterranean and the Jordan River. At what price would Israel choose to become a frankly colonial state rather than accept US and international intervention to disarm each side, in Hertzberg's words, of "the nasty things that they can do to each other"?

Sources

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[2] Frank Ahrens, "FCC Releases Its New Media Ownership Rules," *Washington Post*, July 3, 2003, <http://www.washingtonpost.com/ac2/wp-dyn?pagename=article&node=&contentId=A1297-2003Jul2¬Found=true>.

[3] According to the FCC, over 2.3 million Americans have voiced their opposition to the new FCC rules. For more on the Wisconsin conference and details, see the Free Press, <http://www.mediareform.net/conference>. Mediareform.net is a project of Free Press, 26 Center Street, 2nd floor, Northampton, MA 01060. Phone: 413-585-1533. E-mail: info@mediareform.net.

[4] Edward S. Herman, *Z Magazine*, "Word Tricks & Propaganda." <http://zena.secureforum.com/Znet/zmag/zarticle.cfm?Url=articles/june97herman.htm>. Note the findings of a two-week study done by FAIR (1/30/03-2/12/03) of on-camera network news sources quoted on Iraq: 76 percent of all sources were current or former officials. Similarly, 75 percent of US sources (199/267) were current or former officials. At a time when 61 percent of US respondents were telling pollsters that more time was needed for diplomacy and inspections (2/6/03), only 6 percent of US sources on the four networks were skeptics regarding the need for war. Sources affiliated with antiwar activism were nearly nonexistent. On the four networks combined, just 3 of 393 sources were identified as being affiliated with antiwar activism — less than 1 percent. Just 1 of 267 US sources was affiliated with antiwar activism — less than half a percent. FAIR (Fairness & Accuracy in Reporting), 112 W. 27th Street, New York, NY 10001. FAIR study: "In Iraq Crisis, Networks Are Megaphones for Official Views," March 18, 2003, <http://www.fair.org/reports/iraq-sources.html>.

[5] Mohamed Sharil says many countries in Asia Pacific favored an independent international body for managing the Internet. But some in Europe and the Middle East preferred an inter-governmental organization. "The Internet is many things to many people, there is no one size fits all," he said. "Some governments spend billions to get the Internet to the people. You might end up with a mini United Nations ...that can slow the rate of expansion." From cnn.com, September 16, 2003, KUALA LUMPUR, Malaysia (Reuters).

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[org/paleye/Segregation-Wall/section%207.5.pdf](http://paleye/Segregation-Wall/section%207.5.pdf) *L'Unità* (Italian daily newspaper), part of a series on the problem of water in the world:

- (1) http://www.unita.it/index.asp?SEZIONE_COD=DOSSIER&TOPIC_TIPO=&TOPIC_ID=23765&DOSSIER_ID=57
- (2) http://www.unita.it/index.asp?SEZIONE_COD=&TOPIC_ID=23873
- (3) http://www.unita.it/index.asp?SEZIONE_COD=&TOPIC_ID=23560

Notes

- [1] McKibben, "Our Thirsty Future."
- [2] *L'Unità*, article (1).
- [3] For a discussion of desalination see *Encyclopedia of Desalination and Water Resources*, <http://www.desware.net/desa7.aspx>.
- [4] Underground water present in a layer of porous rocks and sands.
- [5] McKibben, "Our Thirsty Future."
- [6] Examples of the beneficial effects of local control over water resources are found in McKibben, "Our Thirsty Future." The article also discusses how some simple measures can be implemented to gather and save water in local communities in undeveloped countries.
- [7] Other water resources for Israel are Lake Kinneret, in the north (at the border between Israel and the Golan Heights), the sea of Galilee and the Coastal Aquifer.
- [8] Palestinian Hydrology Group, <http://www.phg.org/campaign/emergency/mekorot.html>
- [9] <http://www.arij.org/paleye/Segregation-Wall/section%207.5.pdf>.
- [10] City of Newton, <http://www.ci.newton.ma.us/dpw/citydpwu.htm>. The calculation is mine. The average yearly per capita use in North America is higher than in Newton, Mass.: 216 versus 169 cubic meters.

- [11] The World Health Organization recommends a daily per capita water consumption of 150 liters. In Newton we consume about 463 liters per day, in Israel the daily use per capita is 273 liters and in Palestine it is 82 liters per day, 70 liters short of the recommended safe use.
- [12] The Palestine Water for Life Campaign, affiliated with the Palestinian Hydrology Group, <http://www.phg.org/campaign/emergency/mekorot.html>.
- [13] The Palestine Water for Life Campaign, affiliated with the Palestinian Hydrology Group, <http://www.phg.org/campaign/emergency/wall.html>.
- [14] For a description of this process, see the World Bank site: http://www.worldbank.org/html/fpd/technet/drip_irr.htm.

What Happened at Cancun?

(Continued from page 6)

- <http://www.sfgate.com/cgi-bin/article.cgi?f=/news/archive/2003/09/14/financial1509EDT0020.DTL>.
- [6] Ibid.
- [7] "Poorest Nations."
- [8] Paul Day, "NGOs Assess Bittersweet WTO Failure", Sept. 19, 2003, <http://www.alertnet.org/thefacts/reliefresources/106399566568.htm>.
- [9] Vincent Mayanja, "Why M-7 Wrote on WTO Talks," Sept. 22, 2003, *The East African*, <http://www.nationaudio.com/News/EastAfrican/22092003/Business/Business220920036.html>.
- [10] "Rigged Rules and Double Standards: Trade, Globalization and the Fight against Poverty," *Make Trade Fair*, <http://www.maketrade-fair.org/stylesheets.asp?file=03042002121618&cat=2&subcat=6&select=1>.

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Alternative Views

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December 10, 2003

ANALYSIS

44 Million Americans Without Health Care Insurance (But Bush Promises Universal Health Care for Iraqis)

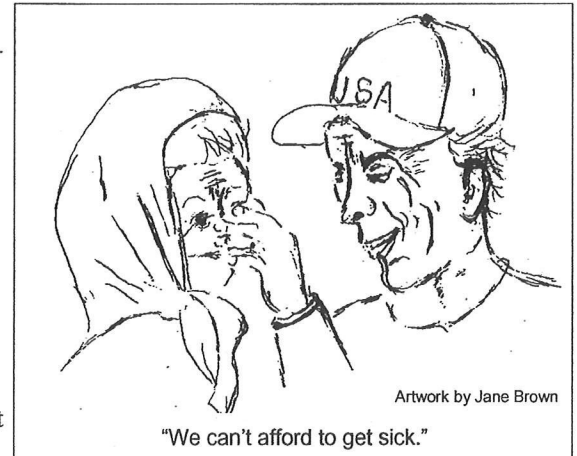
by Richard C. Sterne

In September 2003, a fifteen-year-old girl was struck by a truck near her high school in Bozeman, Montana. Seriously injured, she was long hospitalized. Her father and mother own a farm, and the father has a part-time job. But the family, like many families in the United States with some assets but little income, has no health insurance. How will the father and mother meet what are sure to be the high costs of their daughter's medical care?

Similar problems abound among many of the 44 million United States inhabitants uncovered by health insurance. The specifically medical costs of illness of persons with no assets at all, and very small incomes, are covered by Medicaid. But uninsured people with some assets who've chosen not to buy insurance because the premiums are too high to afford on their small incomes are numerous and vulnerable.

So are uninsured workers for companies that don't offer their employees health insurance. As of 2001, according to the Commonwealth Fund, a private nonpartisan foundation that supports independent research on health care issues, some 10 million uninsured Americans (more than 25% of the uninsured) either worked for large firms—businesses with 500 or more employees—or were dependents of persons thus employed.[1] But a Congressional committee fact sheet observes that workers in small companies, employing fewer than 25 persons, "are the least likely to be insured, most often because small businesses usually have higher per-capita health care costs than larger companies." [2]

Given this dire situation, and the absence of a strong push in Congress for a



Artwork by Jane Brown

universal health care system such as other advanced capitalist countries have, it is astonishing that the Bush administration has "awarded a contract to Abt Associates to provide universal health service to 25 million Iraqis within a year." The administration "also requires all 25 million Iraqis

(Continued on page 4)

ANALYSIS

Oil, War and the Euro

by Allan Rubin

In attempting to make sense of the Bush administration's drive to war in Iraq, we have heard much from the White House of Iraq's weapons of mass destruction.

When that rationale proved to be an illusion, the administration turned to "liberating" Iraq from Saddam Hussein's brutal regime. What has become clear is that the administration's primary goal is liberation—liberating Iraq from its oil reserves. This immediate goal satisfied three of the administration's longer term goals: establishing permanent bases in the region (in order to facilitate US dominance of this oil-producing region, especially after having pulled out of all our bases in Saudi Arabia); ensuring control over the world's second largest oil reserves—to ensure oil supplies for the US and dominance over potential rivals such as the European Union (EU), Russia or China; and protecting the value of the dollar from threats that the

Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) and other oil-producing countries will price their oil in euros (the EU currency). And certainly, there are financial benefits to administration-connected oil-producing, oil services and construction companies.

The oil depletion problem

Depletion of the world's oil reserves will cause worldwide oil production to peak within the next six to eight years. That is the time when oil production will fail to meet worldwide demand. Starting at that time, we can expect oil production to decline by around 2 percent per year, using today's demand figures. In the face

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EDITOR'S NOTE

Alternative Views Looks at the Health of the World

In this issue *Alternative Views* brings a historical perspective to some of the important issues of our time. The December articles focus on specific areas of domestic and international concern: health, oil resources and US foreign policy, and evolving public hopes and expectations.

By emphasizing historical context, these articles hope to bring some understanding to the influences and forces that continue to shape some of the problems which confront humankind. In this spirit *Alternative Views* looks at the health of the world.

Richard Sterne's "44 Million Americans Without Health Care Insurance (But Bush Promises Universal Health Care for Iraqis)" is an incisive look at the devastating effects of a medical delivery system that puts profit before people. While examining some of the dismal details of the current state of health coverage in the US, the article brings a much needed historical perspective to this important issue. Contrasting the amazing proposition of the Bush administration to provide "universal health service to 25 million Iraqis" to the reality at home graphically underscores the vast disconnect between the concepts of health "coverage" (often a euphemism for health "wealth" for private insurance and pharmaceutical companies) and the health care individuals actually receive.

Jamie Murdock looks at global health through the Web lens and contributes several links accompanied by brief excerpts that cover a broad range of issues concerning individual, family and community health. The Web sites selected focus on powerful global influences that shape immediate local health consequences.

Daniela Bartalesi-Graf has written a reflective essay that underscores the pervasive influence of American culture and foreign policy abroad. Taking us on a historical tour, the essay contrasts the love of America and the reverence for Franklin Roosevelt at the close of World War II to the cynical view many Italian citizens have today of the American corporate establishment and the administration of George Bush. Exploring the difference between "the period of fascination with America" that was universal in Italy at the end of the war to the "shattered" vision that is prevalent today, the essay covers 60 years, from the Marshall Plan, with its built-in "demand for political control" to game shows dubbed for Italian TV. The vivid hopes and dreams of an entire generation of Italians who welcomed the American soldiers "not only as liberators but as ambassadors from another world" have changed dramatically.

The influences that shape "world health" cannot be understood without drawing the connections between economic models, political/military power and the need for energy. In "Oil, War and the Euro," Allan Rubin examines the relationship between



Artwork by Jane Brown

GENTLEMEN'S Agreement. With six male legislators looking on, President Bush signed a bill on Nov. 5, 2003, that would ban late-term abortions.

US foreign policy decision making, global economic realities and the reasons the Bush administration has occupied Iraq. Highlighting the fact that the entire superstructure of modern society is oil-dependent, he emphasizes the strategy of the Bush administration to achieve permanent domination of the oil reserves in the Middle East as a way to maintain world economic dominance. The article points out that one of the main potential obstacles to this strategy may be the trend among the EU and especially among the oil-producing countries to adopt the euro as their currency. The article also examines the economic assumptions that are held by US global planners and points out serious flaws in their strategy. The information in the article helps us to focus our attention beyond the rhetoric of those who champion the application of military might for national security.

This issue of *Alternative Views* begins what we hope will be continuing contributions of political cartoons by Jane Brown. In this issue she takes on the insurance industry and the latest erosion of women's rights. In addition, we begin a "news briefs" column summarizing important news events our readers might be interested in exploring further.

—JM

Alternative Views

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PERSONAL REFLECTION

America in the Italian Imagination

by Daniela Bartalesi-Graf

An American soldier visiting a peasant house in Southern Italy in summer 1943 might have seen a strange kind of trinity pinned on the wall. Not the traditional images of the official Catholic iconography—Jesus, the Madonna or one of the saints—but a revised trinity that reflected more closely peasants' local culture, spirituality and hope.

There on the wall, held by a thumbtack, the foreign visitor might have seen a photograph of a smiling and bespectacled President Roosevelt, a father as benevolent and powerful as Zeus; beside him, a local Madonna, not a veiled woman with eyes turned to the heavens, but a local, dark-skinned, somber face would stare right at the observer, wearing a golden crown like an archaic queen of the peasant world. Finally, a dollar would complete the trinity, a tangible symbol of the world of Omnipotent Father Roosevelt.[1] America was the real dream land, the heavenly Jerusalem that few managed to reach and that even fewer returned from, and New York was the true capital to those peasants. Rome, after all, had always sent them only tax

collectors and postcards announcing the draft.

It's no wonder that in Southern Italy the Allied troops were welcomed not only as liberators but as ambassadors from another

**The Italian dichotomy
continues: a critical attitude
toward American foreign
policy combined with a
fascination for American
culture.**

world; they threw cigarettes and candies and chewing gum from their tanks, they were well fed and well dressed, polite and reassuring, they had white sparkling teeth, just like Roosevelt in the photograph. They brought not only delicacies and good clothes; they brought new music, Glenn Miller and his band, then jazz and the blues; they brought new films and every

man fell in love with Rita Hayworth, and every woman with Clark Gable. Italians embraced the new culture with true passion, after years of autocracy, when nationalist songs and military parades were the only available forms of entertainment. Even in the north, where cities and towns had been pounded by Allied bombs for nearly two years, and thousands of civilians were killed and made homeless, the hatred of the population was directed toward the Nazi occupiers and the Fascist government that had dragged Italy into war, and not against the Americans or the British.

The period of fascination with America—often accompanied by a feeling of shame for the Italian alliance with Nazi Germany during the war—continued past the immediate postwar period; the funds from the Marshall Plan helped reconstruct the country and built the foundation of the Italian “economic miracle” of the 1950s. However, with the onset of the cold war, it became clear that financial help didn't come without a demand for political control. Italy had a well-organized Communist

(Continued on page 6)

Contact Us

We invite readers' comments on any aspect of this issue of *Alternative Views*. Although it is not possible for us to reply to you individually, we will try to respond in *Alternative Views* to suggestions or criticisms that are frequently made or that we find especially helpful. If you wish to comment on this issue, please write to comments@alternative-views.org or Editors, *Alternative Views*, P.O. Box 610395, Newton, MA 02461. Please include your full name, affiliation if any, and place of residence. The editors may choose to print some comments as letters to the editor. Letters may be edited for space, at the editors' discretion.

Submission Policy

We invite you to inquire about submitting for possible publication an original article expressing an opinion, an analytical summary, or a translation — not to exceed 700 words — on any subject with which *Alternative Views* is concerned (see

our Prospectus). Please include in your inquiry a clear description of the proposed piece. Send the inquiry to submissions@alternative-views.org.

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Letter to the Editor: On Israeli Water Use

To the Editor:

I write hoping to bridge a gap among those who care about peace in the Middle East. The situation concerning Israel and the Palestinian people is deeply problematic. Citing Israel's use of water out of a larger context, thereby creating black-and-white images of oppressor and oppressed, is at best an incomplete portrayal and, at worst, misleading to those who do care about peace, justice and water.

Water distribution issues, being concerned with a material resource, are fundamental to the safety and freedom of all peoples. Unfortunately, Daniela Bartalesi-Graf's presentation of data in her article “Water, Social Justice and the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict” [issue 5, Oct. 16, 2003] appears to be somewhat skewed and therefore misleading on this subject.

Politically, the article leaves unclear that some Palestinians are Israeli citizens and there is a reference to Palestine suggesting a state exists that is yet to be founded. That aside, I will focus on how Bartalesi-Graf compares three water usage figures: for Israelis, for Palestinians and for people living in Newton. Most dramatic is her comparison of Newton consumption to that of the Palestinians. She also compares consumption in Israel to that of Palestinians. She does not, however, compare Israel's consumption to that of Newton—which suggests another logic, providing a different perspective on water resource management. Israel has seemingly created a modern society, comparable in most ways to Newton in its stan-

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44 Million Americans Without Health Care Insurance

(Continued from page 1)

to have maternal, child health care, and health information and education after six months of program implementation." On the day last spring that the contract was awarded, U.S. Representatives Diana DeGette (D-CO), John D. Dingell (D-MI) and Sherrod Brown (D-OH) called on President Bush "to provide the same commitment to the 44 million Americans without health care coverage." [3]

Unhappily, even in the general mid-20th-century climate of pragmatic idealism during the administrations of Franklin D. Roosevelt and Harry Truman, the lobbying power of those who considered health care not an essential human right but a commodity to be sold to those who could pay for it "saved" the United States from the prospect of universal health insurance.

A 1969 "Oral History Interview" with Oscar R. Ewing, formerly President Truman's administrator of the Federal Security Agency (predecessor of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare) reveals that, in Ewing's words, "national health insurance had been proposed by President Roosevelt in the very first social security bill introduced in Congress back in 1934." But, as Ewing explained, the American Medical Association "didn't want the Government to have a thing to do with medicine. They opposed every bill that was introduced in Congress that even remotely would involve Government in medicine." (Their opposition extended to government support of any medical research, and they proposed that doctors "raise ten million dollars a year for research" — a sum Ewing thought the AMA intended to solicit largely from the pharmaceutical industry. "the pharmaceutical manufacturers.") President Roosevelt, whose wife, Eleanor, had been persuaded by her own doctor of the rashness of pushing for national health insurance, decided to withdraw that provision from the social security bill. His strategy now, said Ewing, was to "get what he could" right away, and try later for national health insurance.

The Wagner-Murray-Dingell Bill, introduced in Congress in 1943, did include a national health insurance provision, but it was rebuffed even though a Gallup (American Institute of Public Opinion) poll had reported 59% of respondents favoring

the inclusion in the Social Security program of payments for sickness, disability, doctor and hospital bills. [4]

Roosevelt's successor, Harry Truman, proposed in 1945 a national health insurance plan to a recalcitrant Congress; and Oscar Ewing, undeterred by defeat and with Truman's support, began to advocate such a plan publicly early in 1948. At this point, the tag "socialized medicine," earlier used effectively to defeat a proposed California health insurance program, was applied to the legislation urged by Ewing. He said in the 1969 interview that he thought the reason for the pharmaceutical industry's intense opposition to the administration's bill was a provision in the original draft that provided for price controls if drug prices became excessive.

President Kennedy's Health Message of February 1962 reiterated his 1961 State of the Union plea for health insurance protection for the aged; and the Medicare/Medicaid programs were established by Congress during the Johnson administration. But under no president has the United States adopted the kind of national health insurance, funded by American tax dollars, that President Bush — having visited "preemptive" shock and awe upon Iraq — seems prepared to bestow upon the Iraqi people. [5]

NOTES

- [1] Report posted Oct. 22, 2003 at <http://www.cmwf.org>.
- [2] House Education and the Workforce Committee, Fact Sheet, "Expanding Access to Quality Health Care: Solutions for Uninsured Americans," July 9, 2002, <http://edworkforce.house.gov/issues/107th/workforce/healthcare/ahps.htm>.
- [3] News Release, U.S. House, April 30, 2003, "Bush Administration Ignores 44 Million Uninsured in U.S. As It Awards Contract for Universal Health Care in Iraq," http://www.house.gov/commerce_democrats/press/108nr17.htm.
- [4] <http://www.trumanlibrary.org/oralhist/ewing3.htm> and "Financing Hospital Care through Social Insurance," *Social Security Online*, <http://www.ssa.gov/history/aja943.html>.
- [5] My call to an officer of Abt Associates, requesting updated information about Abt's health care plans for Iraqis, has not been returned."

RELATED WEB LINKS

How Big Pharmaceutical Companies Control Medicine: Case Notes on Corruption
"The argument over pharmaceutical patents

and the rigid rules governing them, which for three years pitted Southern nations against the US, the European Union and Japan (who together consume 88% of the world's medicines) ended, on the eve of the World Trade Organization meeting in Cancun, with a victory for 'Big Pharma,' led by the US company Pfizer. The restrictions on trade in generic drugs ensure the large firms will keep tight control of the market." <http://mondediplo.com/2003/11/14pharma>

Continuing Collateral Damage: The Health and Environmental Costs of War on Iraq: Medact Report

This article on the MedAct Web site "calculates the toll, and shows how the general state of health of the Iraqi people, already poor by international standards, has been compromised further by the war. The findings have emerged from a comprehensive independent survey undertaken by the UK global health charity Medact. Part-funded by Oxfam and the Polden-Puckham Charitable Foundation, an international team of authors and advisers, all experts on health and conflict, have assessed the health and environmental impact of the war." <http://www.medact.org/tbx/pages/sub.cfm?id=775>

Drugs Should Be a Common Good: Unhealthy Profits: Le Monde Diplomatique

"The cost of pharmaceutical drugs is already a desperate problem for developing countries, but during the next two decades the rest of the world is likely to be affected. People in industrialised countries have become used over the past half-century to automatic and free access to the drugs they need. But that right could disappear. . . . The gap will widen between people able to finance their own health-care and those who have reduced cover." http://mondediplo.com/2003/07/10velasquez?var_recherche=health+global

RELATED LINKS ON MEDICARE BILL PASSED BY CONGRESS NOV. 25

Killing Medicare By Trudy Lieberman, *The Nation*, November 25, 2003

"The Medicare 'reform' legislation just passed by Congress sends the program on a path to destruction. The new law lays the foundation for cutting benefits and increasing the amount of money beneficiaries will pay for care." <http://www.alternet.org/story.html?StoryID=17258http>

Prescriptions for seniors or payoffs to business?

By Betty Beverly, Montana Senior Citizens Association, Wednesday, November 26, 2003
"Sadly, the agreement emerging from the Medicare prescription drug bill conference is unraveling many of the good points that were contained in the Senate Bill that Montana's Sen. Max Baucus co-sponsored." <http://www.montanaforum.com/rednews/2003/11/26/build/health/medicareop2.php?nnn=1>

Oil, War and the Euro

(Continued from page 1)

of increasing demand (also around 2 percent per year) for an increasingly scarce resource, the shortfall will be increasing by around 4 percent a year (unless high oil prices and a failing world economy reduce demand). An oil crisis will occur not when the world runs out of oil, but when worldwide oil production fails to keep up with demand. [1]

The long-term consequences of oil depletion will be enormous. There is no good substitute for oil. Neither coal, solar cells nor uranium can run cars or airplanes. Our electric grid, transportation and industrial processes are all dependent on cheap fossil fuels. Less obvious is that our food and water supplies are as well. Modern industrial agriculture is extremely energy-intensive. Energy is needed for running farm machinery, producing fertilizers and pesticides, pumping water for irrigation and transporting farm production vast distances to the places where it is consumed. All of these uses are now threatened. The administration is aware of the oil depletion issue and has been concerned with gaining control of the world's remaining oil supplies. Clearly, if the US controls much of the world's remaining oil supply, it will have a stranglehold on industrial societies that require it.

A temporary solution to the oil depletion problem might have been to accelerate production from the Caspian Sea area and the Persian Gulf—especially Saudi Arabia and Iraq, the countries with the largest proven oil reserves. The problems with this were an uncertain political climate in Saudi Arabia (an ailing king and much internal pressure for a less repressive society), uncertain production from Iraq (due to years of sanctions and neglect) and dwindling expectations for the Caspian Sea reserves. The original estimates placed the Caspian Sea reserves at 50 to 200 billion barrels, almost as large as Saudi Arabia's estimated 250 billion barrel reserves. But when drilling was started in the Caspian Sea region it was found that many of the wells were dry and the remaining wells produced oil of a very poor quality.

US dollar dominates the world economy

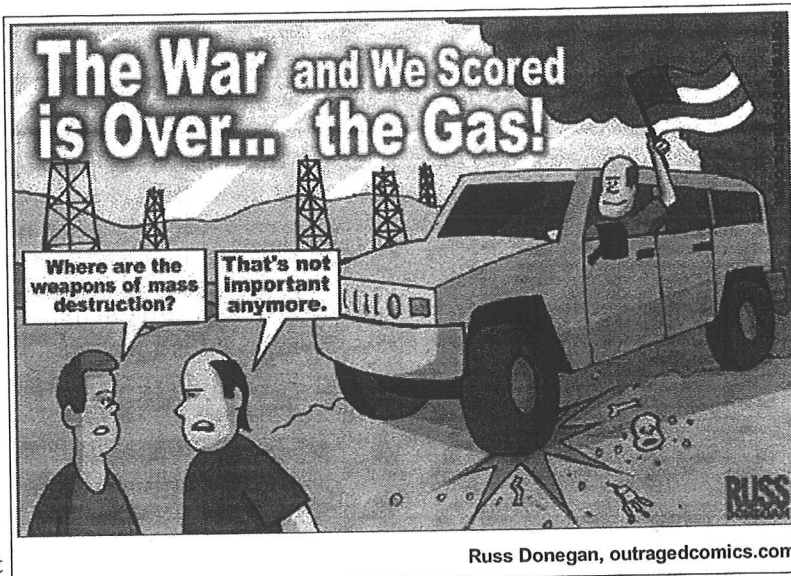
The Bush administration's desire to strengthen the dollar by controlling the

pricing of oil is perhaps less straightforward, but potentially at least as important. It is clear that the US dominates the world, both militarily and economically. The US dollar dominates the world's economic transactions.

Eighty percent of the world's foreign exchange transactions and half of the world's exports are denominated in US dollars. Two-thirds of the world's official exchange reserves—dollars held by countries' central banks to back their own currencies—are in US dollars.

What is less clear is how precarious the US economic position is. The US government's economic policies have been disastrous. The US is suffering from huge federal budget deficits worsened by unaffordable tax cuts, massive unemployment, widespread corporate accounting abuses, near zero personal savings, record personal debt and declining corporate profits. In large part because the US has pushed the corporations' so-called free-trade agenda, the US has been cannibalizing much of its industrial base (and its service jobs as well) and exporting those jobs to low-wage countries. Estimates of jobs lost to overseas countries since the start of the recession in March 2001 range from 500,000 to 1,000,000, with professionals representing around 15 percent of the total. [2] One result is a large outflow of US dollars to foreign countries to pay for goods and services that used to be available from American manufacturers. Consequently, the US balance of payments ("current accounts") deficit is running \$554 billion per year and rising. This is quadruple what it was ten years ago and is above 5 percent of the US gross national product for the first time in history. [3]

In light of these economic realities, any further threats to the dollar could be disastrous. The major support for the value of



the dollar is demand from around the world. Countries must have dollars to buy oil, to participate in world trade and to back their own currencies. This demand for dollars—over and above US purchases of goods and services—is what allows the US to run its large deficits with impunity. Much of this demand comes from the fact that most of the world's oil transactions are priced in dollars—that has been the case since 1973. Oil-importing countries must have dollars if they are to buy oil. If OPEC were to switch its oil exports to euros, oil-importing countries would have to convert dollars held by their central banks to euros. This would reduce the worldwide demand for dollars, causing the dollar to drop in value; the likely result would be foreign investors abandoning the US stock market (and other dollar-denominated assets such as real estate). As the dollar falls in value, countries' central banks will start to move their reserves into other currencies. Some of this scenario has already started to occur, as evidenced by the recent rise in the euro versus the dollar, up 28 percent in the last 18 months. [4] This series of events will have very serious consequences for the US economy in its present state.

The euro was set up by the European Union as an alternative to the dollar. Other countries are beginning to see the euro as an attractive alternative as well. They would like to switch to the euro both for their own economic well-being and out of fear of the power of the US empire and its unilateral, militaristic policies. As nations

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America in the Italian Imagination

(Continued from page 3)

Party, the largest in Western Europe, with strong support in the industrial north and in the central regions; the Communists had been the major organizers of the popular resistance against the Nazis and the Fascists in the north and had managed to free large pockets of land even before the arrival of the Allies; for this reason they enjoyed a large popular support.

The presence of such a strong and well-organized leftist party didn't please the American administration, who wanted Italy to remain firmly within the Western bloc. The party of the Christian Democrats (Democrazia Cristiana, or DC), as the only viable buffer against the threat from the left, received help and support from the US (and from the Catholic Church, of course) and managed to stay in power for nearly 45 years after the war. Italy never saw the rotation of power between center-left and center-right government coalitions that has characterized all other Western democracies. The continuous hold on power that the DC managed to exercise during those years made Italy resemble an oligarchy more than a democracy; people gradually lost faith in the possibility of change, and many attributed the strength of the DC to the support it received from the US.

The left continued to present a threat, especially in the 1960s, when workers in the north started a series of strikes to improve working conditions, and highly politicized trade unions supported by the Communist Party gained wide support. Groups of neo-Fascists and other right-wing organizations started a terrorist campaign to try to destabilize the government and bring about a military coup on the model of what had happened in Greece and later happened in Chile. Some neo-Fascists arrested and later condemned for bombings and other terrorist crimes claimed they had had ties with CIA agents in Italy and had been trained by them. Although these allegations were never substantiated, many Italians became convinced that the only preoccupation the US had with regard to Italy was to keep the working-class movement at bay, even to the point of enlisting neo-Fascist groups. So much for the myth of America as a beacon of democracy in the world.

The onset of the Vietnam War only galvanized these anti-American feelings.

America became *Amerika*, and *Nixon go home* was the slogan of thousands of anti-war demonstrations across the country. At the same time, though, Italy's love affair with American culture continued. Glenn Miller, Rita Hayworth and Clark Gable were out of fashion, but America was still the land of unbridled personal freedom and boundless space, of many religions and colors and ways of life; in contrast, Italy appeared as a confining, traditional and uniform society, where family and religious ties were perceived as reassuring at

**Transparency and honesty
in the public and private
sectors were historically
perceived by Italians as
characteristics of American
society, often placed in
sharp contrast with
corresponding
Italian flaws.**

times, but also as stifling. America was still the land of new and exciting music, of rock, folk, jazz, blue grass and pop, and English was the language you needed to master to find a good job, but also to read your favorite authors, Hemingway and Fitzgerald and Steinbeck. This dichotomy has continued to this day: a critical attitude toward American foreign policy (continuing even now with the Iraq war) combined with a fascination for American culture, personal freedom and religious and ethnic diversity.

Transparency and honesty in the public and private sectors were historically perceived by Italians as characteristics of American society, highly admired and envied, often placed in sharp contrast with corresponding Italian flaws. If Italian politicians resembled corrupt rulers running their own fiefdoms and using their positions of power to favor the interests of their families and friends, American politicians were perceived to be devoted public servants directly accountable to their constitu-

ents. The Kennedys were the perfect example. Another characteristic that Italians admire is ethical correctness in business transactions: Italians have assumed that American companies don't bribe politicians to get public work contracts and they thrive not because they evade taxes but because of their efficiency and technological superiority.

These two myths have been shattered in the minds of many Italians recently: President Bush and Vice President Cheney both have strong personal ties with the oil industry; perhaps their involvement doesn't match Italian Prime Minister Berlusconi's ownership of a media empire, but the separation of business and government power has been violated. And business scandals such as Enron and WorldCom have destroyed the popular Italian belief that American companies uphold high ethical standards.

I doubt that nowadays a smiling George W. Bush in Texan attire is displayed on the walls of poor Southern Italian houses, in place of the Olympic, reassuring face of President Roosevelt. The dollar, I am sure, has disappeared as well, since new prosperity has come to the South, and families no longer receive dollar bills from relatives who migrated to the US. The Madonna is probably there, the only part of the triad still watching over the household, like an immortal local goddess. The new American cultural symbols—TV shows like *Friends*, the *Price Is Right* and other game shows, all familiar presences in Italian households—certainly don't make people dream and hope like the symbols of the America every Italian loved, the one that gave birth to the jazz and the blues, to Hemingway and Steinbeck and Fitzgerald, to Roosevelt and J. F. Kennedy—the America that meant honesty in business and politics, physical and personal boundless space, freedom from the constraint of religion and family, freedom to choose the direction of one's life.

NOTE

[1] A description of the "trinity" can be found in Carlo Levi, *Christ Stopped at Eboli*, translated from the Italian by Frances Frenaye, Penguin Books, 1982, pp. 120-21.

Letter to the Editor

(Continued from page 3)

dard of living but with the addition of the full range of industries required by a country versus by a Boston suburb, in what Bartalesi-Graf explains is a challenging physical environment, using approximately 59% of the water per capita that Newton uses. Without an exploration of this comparison, we are left to assume that this lower level of consumption either happened by chance or that it is perhaps part of an elaborate and greedy plot Israel has to oppress the Palestinian people. Without the benefit of Bartalesi-Graf's expertise, I would suggest alternatively that Israel's careful use and application of water resources—when the killing stops and when it has stopped in the past—benefits those many Palestinians who participate in the regional economy which includes Israel.

Israel is a country that contributes to scientific and technological advancement and shares that information freely. It might be fruitful to spend less words and time suggesting Israel is depriving the Palestinian people and living at their expense, and more time investigating the contribution Israel is making not only to the region by using resources as it does, but also to our shared understanding of how to use our water resources wisely.

Shirah W. Hecht, Ph.D.
Boston College Sociology Dept.

Response

We also deplore the high water consumption in the city of Newton and in the US, as we make clear in the article. Our critique of Israel's policies in this regard does not address the per capita water consumption in Israel per se, but the unjust distribution of water between Israel and the occupied territories.

Our figures take into account the difference between average per capita consumption (which includes agricultural and industrial use) and domestic consumption.

Our point is not that the consumption of water in Israel is particularly high, but that it's high when compared with the consumption of water in Palestinian territories. On the other hand, the consumption of water in Newton (and in the US in general) is outrageously high, in absolute terms.

The article clearly points out Israel's positive role in developing and implementing innovative water conservation technologies, such as "drip irrigation."

—Daniela Bartalesi-Graf

We thought you should know...

The Massachusetts Democratic Party's official action agenda 2003-2004 now calls for repeal of the USA PATRIOT Act and for opposition to the "concept and practice of preemptive war"?

The following amendment was brought to the convention floor by a petition signed by more than 500 registered delegates. It was then accepted without opposition:

We will urge our representatives [in the US Congress] to seek repeal of the USA PATRIOT Act and defeat of the USA PATRIOT Act II. Further, we urge them to repudiate the concept and practice of "preemptive war" as well as to affirm the US obligation to abide by legal restrictions on the use of non-defensive military force as mandated in the United Nations charter.

For full text of the Action Agenda 2003-2004, see <http://www.massdems.org/partydocs/agenda.htm>

—Submitted by Kathy Knight, convention delegate, Newton Ward 6, at the Massachusetts Democratic Issues Convention in Lowell on June 7, 2003

"The families of 9/11 victims will receive an average of \$1,518,167 in tax-free compensation, according to the Justice Department. The families of US soldiers killed in Iraq will receive \$6,000 in death benefits and \$1,750 for burial costs, says the Associated Press."

—From *Sojourners Magazine*, submitted by Ros Winsor

A long report in the *Boston Globe*, Nov. 5, 2003, headlined "Injury rate for reservists on rise," leads with the point that US Army reservists "are suffering from a sharply disproportionate share of nonhostile injuries—... accidents, illnesses, ... mental breakdowns—as they adjust to the rigors of a long and unexpected tour in a hot, strife-ridden environment, according to a *Globe* analysis of Department of Defense figures."

—Submitted by Marvin Miller, *Newton Dialogues on Peace and War* member

Naomi Klein in "Bring Halliburton Home" in the *Nation*, Nov. 24, 2003, says that the "troops out" call overlooks the following: If every soldier left the Gulf tomorrow and a sovereign government came to power, Iraq would still be occupied: "by laws written in the interests of another country by foreign corporations controlling its essential services, by 70% unemployment sparked by public sector layoffs."

—Submitted by William Leary

Lord Steyn, a Lord of Appeal in Ordinary, one of 12 judges on Britain's highest court, in a lecture in London on Nov. 25 delivered a blistering condemnation of the US treatment of prisoners at Guantanamo Bay. Citing conditions outside all international legal standards, Lord Steyn said in part:

As a lawyer brought up to admire the ideals of American democracy and justice, I would have to say that I regard this as a monstrous failure of justice. The question is whether the quality of justice envisaged for the prisoners at Guantanamo Bay complies with minimum international standards for the conduct of fair trials. The answer can be given quite shortly: It is a resounding No. The term kangaroo court springs to mind. It conveys the idea of a preordained, arbitrary rush to judgment by an irregular tribunal which makes a mockery of justice. Trials of the type contemplated by the United States government would be a stain on United States justice. The only thing that could be worse is simply to leave the prisoners in their black hole indefinitely.

—Submitted by Octo Barnett, *Newton Dialogues on Peace and War* member

In an op-ed piece in the *New York Times*, Nov. 18, 2003, titled "Your Doctor's Drug Problem," Arnold S. Relman, professor emeritus at Harvard Medical School, and former editor of the *New England Journal of Medicine*, writes that a primary reason for the inflation of the costs of pharmaceutical drugs is that "doctors are taught about drugs by agents of the pharmaceutical industry, which works hard to persuade them to select the newest and most expensive medications—even in the absence of scientific evidence that they are any better than older, less costly ones." He goes on to say that "doctors in almost all states are required to enroll in continuing medical programs" which "are now largely subsidized, directly or indirectly, by the pharmaceutical industry." And Relman observes that "the companies providing the support wouldn't pour money into education unless they were confident of a return on their investment."

—The editors

Oil, War and the Euro

(Continued from page 5)

switch to the euro for oil sales or currency reserves, it will become increasingly difficult for the US to maintain its huge budget and trade deficits, and the dollar will drop in value. Iraq started pricing its oil in euros in November 2000, an unforgivable offense in the eyes of the Bush administration. Iraq also converted \$10 billion of its currency reserves to euros. These were really their "weapons of mass destruction"—from which they profited greatly because of the rise in the value of the euro. Iran has been talking publicly about pricing its oil in euros. In 2002, Iran converted most of its reserve currency to euros. In October 2003, Russian President Vladimir Putin announced that Russia might price its oil in euros as well.[5] Venezuela, another OPEC member, has also indicated that it may switch to euros. North Korea has also decided to ask for payment in euros for its exports.

Summary

The Bush administration saw as critical the need to secure the world's major oil fields at a time of impending world shortages. The expected oil from the Caspian Sea region never really materialized. The threat to the US economy from a trend to price oil in euros is very real. The moribund US economy would not stand it without serious consequences—think 1929. In addition, the EU would like to see the euro become the world's reserve currency, a real challenge to US hegemony. US takeover of Iraq secured the world's second largest oil reserves, allowed the US to take control of Iraq's oil industry and eventually price Iraq's oil in dollars instead of euros, secured for the US a vote in OPEC and introduced the real possibility of either destroying OPEC or at least increasing Iraqi oil production beyond OPEC quotas, thereby reducing oil prices in the short term and reducing the threat to the dollar and the US economy.

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- [2] "A Statistic That's Missing: Jobs That Moved Overseas," *New York Times*, Oct. 5, 2003.
- [3] "Foreigners May Not Have Liked the War, but

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- [4] "Currencies," *New York Times*, Nov. 19, 2003.
- [5] "Putin: Why Not Price Oil in Euros," *Defencetalk.com*, Oct. 10, 2003, http://www.defencetalk.com/news/publish/printer_142.shtml.

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Newton Dialogues on Peace and War

Dedicated to democratic dialogue and discussion.

We oppose militarism and unilateral, preventive wars.

We support cooperative security strategies through the United Nations.

We oppose unwise, unjust tax cuts and support a just economy that provides support for education, health care and the environment.

We oppose the USA PATRIOT Act and support the protection of our cherished civil rights and liberties.

What can you do?

- Check our Web site for information and events: www.newtondialog.org.
- Join our mailing list by writing to univ@comcast.net or P.O. Box 610395, Newton, MA 02461.
- Join our weekly vigil — every Thursday, 5 to 6 p.m., corner of Beacon and Centre Streets, Newton Center.
- Join our monthly meetings: usually held at 7:30, second Sunday every month, Eliot Church, 474 Centre Street, Newton Center.
- Commit yourself to working for peace and justice.

Newton Dialogues on Peace and War is represented at the monthly meetings of United for Justice with Peace community groups.

Alternative Views

www.alternative-views.org

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Saddam Hussein Found—But by Whom?

by Frank Propp

The Dec. 15 *Boston Globe* headline read: "Prisoner Hussein Found in a Pit, Ex-dictator Goes Quietly." "We got him" said L. Bremer III. "The tyrant is a prisoner." The front page showed a ghostly, haggard, bearded Saddam along with sidebar pictures showing him meekly submitting to a medical examination. Very impressive and, if true, a major victory for the Bush administration.

Unfortunately, the situation is not that clear. Foreign press, but not the US press, a week later reported that Saddam had been drugged by his own guards and turned over to the Kurds who had then negotiated with the Americans for his staged capture. The price was unclear. Check the link below

for a more complete story. The link is introduced by some quotes from the article.

Revealed: Who Really Found Saddam?
by David Pratt, *Sunday Herald*
(Scotland), Dec. 21, 2003
<http://www.sundayherald.com/38816>

"Saddam Hussein: High Value Target Number One. The Glorious Leader. The Lion of Babylon had been snared. Iraq's most wanted—the ace of spades—had become little more than an ace in the hole." . . .

"... who exactly were the key players in what until then had been a frustrating and sometimes embarrassing hunt for a former dictator with a \$25 million (£14m) bounty on his head?" Qusrat Rasul Ali, a

leader of the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan, is chief of a special intelligence unit responsible for tracking down former Ba'athist regime leaders. "Rasul Ali's unit had an impressive track record. It was they who last August, working alone, arrested Iraqi vice-president Taha Yassin Ramadan in Mosul, northern Iraq. Barely a month earlier in the al-Falah district of the same town, the PUK is believed to have played a crucial role in the pinpointing and storming of a villa that culminated in the deaths of Saddam's sons Uday and Qusay. . . . The US media reported that the tip-off came from an Iraqi man who was arrested during a raid in Tikrit, and even speculated that he

(Continued on page 6)

ANALYSIS

Is the United States Today a Democracy?

by Richard C. Sterne

The question would once have seemed absurd to most North Americans — although not to 19th-century native Americans ("Indians") transferred to miserable reservations after their tribes had been deci-

mated so that white men might fulfill their "manifest destiny"; nor to African Americans who, for a hundred years after slavery was abolished, endured Ku Klux Klan intimidation and assault, segregation by state law, and widespread denial of their civil rights; nor to United States inhabitants of Japanese descent, interned en masse in concentration camps after the 1941 attack on Pearl Harbor; nor to men and women of diverse ethnic and racial backgrounds who, especially before laborers won the right to bargain collectively, were attacked by police ordered to protect the factories and mines of private corporations.

Nor would it have seemed absurd to immigrants, accused of no wrongful acts, who were rounded up and deported for their alleged "radicalism" during the post-World War I hysteria that followed bombings by some violent anarchists; nor to the decent persons of liberal or radical persuasion whose reputations congressmen, notably Senator Joseph McCarthy of Wisconsin — on the hunt for Communist

spies during the era of the Rosenbergs' trial and death sentences — ruined during the early years of the cold war.

Today the question should be urgently asked by us all. Democracy means more than the right to vote for candidates whose money often talks more eloquently than they do. It means the whole array of liberties which, though spelled out in the Bill of Rights, came only slowly, through suffering and combat, to apply by law throughout the United States to persons of all colors, not just Caucasians, and to women as well as men. Since Abraham Lincoln's Gettysburg speech, democracy has connoted preeminently "government of the people, by the people, for the people." The rights set forth in the first ten amendments to the Constitution are the rights of "the people," of human beings inhabiting the United States — not only citizens of it.

Yet Professor David Cole, of the Georgetown University Law Center, and author of *Enemy Aliens: Double Stan-*

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EDITOR'S NOTE

Where Are We Going?

Richard C. Sterne asks on our front page "Is the United States Today a Democracy?"

All candidates for president of the United States should pose this question.

This edition of *Alternative Views* asks about the status of American democracy. Sterne is outraged at the loss of due process. In a book review by Severyn Bruyn you will see that Michael Moore is also outraged. He shouts, "Where Is My Country?" and takes a furious look at American politics and foreign policy. We can tell you some of his facts but you will have to read the book for the full story. He minces no words.

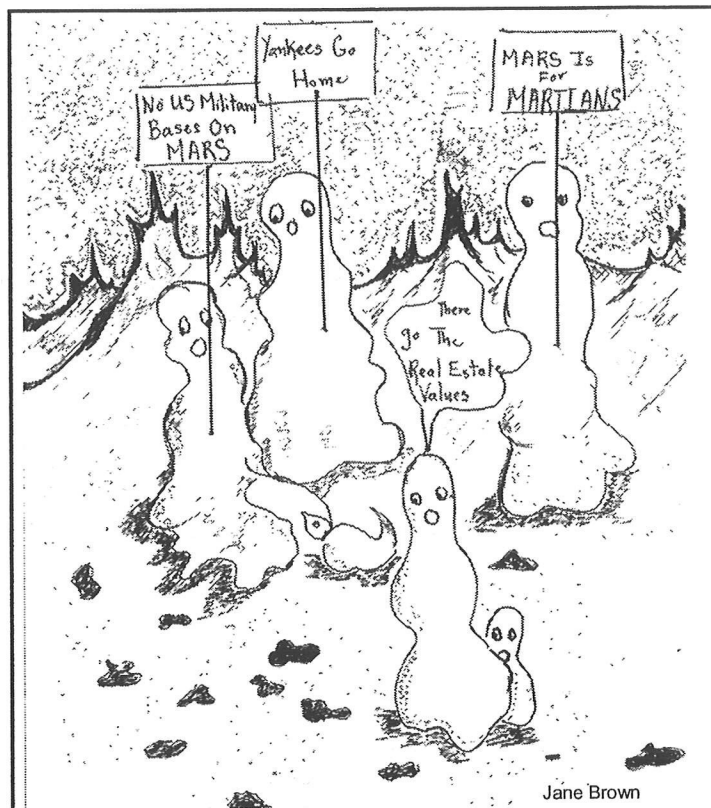
In this edition you will see in an article by Frank Propp how the media have not told the full story on the capture of Saddam Hussein. James Murdock reports that the Pentagon underreports US casualties and that many casualties go beyond the physical. You will see how PBS loses its way but how Newton public access TV will continue to provide open communication from all over the world. In *We Thought You Should Know*... you will see us asking, "Where is Congress on health care?" And in Richard Sterne's summary of a *New York Review of Books* article, Thomas Powers asks, "How can Americans tolerate the fact that there was no case for the Iraq War?"—that there are no WMDs or clear links to Al Queda.

The corporate structure of the mass media will not be debated in this race for president of the United States. Are the media performing a role that advances democracy in America?

No. Big business owns the media.

General Electric owns NBC. It is heavily invested in the defense industry. The Walt Disney Co. owns ABC. It is invested in petroleum and natural gas production facilities. It is not hard to figure out why news gets distorted. Let's look at this for a moment.

Political analyst Edward Herman says that the media carry out "propaganda" on behalf of the corporate and political establishment. They choose news on the terrorism of America's enemies rather than those nations supported by the US government. They choose their sources of information from government officials and consultants from richly endowed think tanks, not from critics outside mainstream



Jane Brown

politics. James Carey, a renowned Columbia University scholar, says that he has one major concern: *How do we make democracy work in the mass media?* "When the mass media are driven solely by the stock market and opportunity costs, news has no justification other than its contribution to overall corporate profits." (For more, see our button on **Toward a Public Media System** on our Web site.)

With all this distortion of the news and lack of democracy today, we need some humor. Read "Code Purple: Beware of Weapons of Math Instruction."

Everyone should follow the primaries. We will keep a monthly record of what is happening on votes for delegates in the Democratic primaries.

—STB

Alternative Views

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REVIEW

Whose Country Is It, Anyway?

Review by Severyn Bruyn of *Dude, Where's My Country?* by Michael Moore, Warner Books, 2003

You will want to read this new book, by the author of *Stupid White Men* and the producer/director of *Bowling for Columbine*. Michael Moore shares facts about American politics in his inimitable (irascible, ignitable, unrepeatable) street language, with all documentation in footnotes.

Moore starts the book by posing questions to George W. Bush. "Is it true that the bin Ladens have had business relations with you and your family for the past 25 years?" Moore said he had been shocked by an article in the *New Yorker* that reported how the administration supervised the evacuation of 24 members of Osama bin Laden's family from the United States right after the terrorist attacks of 9/11. Moore asks Bush why this happened and goes where the daily newspapers would not, describing the friendly relationships

between the two families.

It all began when Salem bin Laden started coming to Texas in 1973. Salem belongs to a family of multibillionaires, among the wealthiest families in Saudi Arabia. (Salem's brothers, by the way, include Osama.) Salem bought some land in Texas, built a house and created Bin Laden Aviation at the San Antonio airfield. The bin Ladens built airstrips in Saudi Arabia that America used during the Gulf War. They do business with top US firms including Citigroup, General Electric, Merrill Lynch and Goldman Sachs. They own part of the defense giant Boeing and have donated \$2 million to Harvard University, \$300,000 to Tufts University, and other sums of money to conservative think tanks.

The bin Ladens also invested in a company called CaterAir, which is owned by the Carlyle Group and which George W.

Bush headed until 1994. The Carlyle Group is one of the nation's largest defense contractors. The people who run the Carlyle Group are former politicians, such as Ronald Reagan's defense secretary Frank Carlucci and former secretary of state James Baker. So there is a very close connection between the Carlyle Group and the US government. The University of Texas (a state institution) even invested \$10 million in the Carlyle Group while Bush was governor of Texas.

President George W. Bush (Bush II) glosses over these relations by telling the press that the "good" bin Ladens had disowned Osama. But if that's true, then Moore wants to know why the "good" bin Ladens showed up at Osama's son's wedding just six and a half months before Sept. 11. The family had been funding Osama

(Continued on page 4)

Media Watch

Iraq War Amnesia on the Lehrer *Newshour* and NPR's *Morning Edition*

Interviewing David Brooks, a conservative spokesman, and Thomas Oliphant, his supposedly liberal opponent, on the Dec. 15, 2003, *Newshour with Jim Lehrer*, Lehrer joined his guests in a willful, depressing display of amnesia about the Bush administration's excuse, before the March 2003 invasion of Iraq, for launching a "pre-emptive" war. Both Oliphant and Brooks scorned Democratic presidential candidate Howard Dean's statement that although the capture of Saddam Hussein had made Iraqis more secure, it had not made the United States safer. Jim Lehrer did not ask Brooks and Oliphant about the bearing on what they'd said of Secretary of State Colin Powell's attempted justification, before the UN Security Council, of the forthcoming attack on Iraq on the grounds of Saddam Hussein's alleged possession of potentially dangerous weapons of mass destruction. Nor did Lehrer remind Oliphant and Brooks that no such weapons has been found since the US occupation began. Lehrer's silent acquiescence in his guests' Iraq war amnesia does the *Newshour* no credit.

Two weeks later, on National Public Radio's *Morning Edition* for Dec. 30, Carl Kasell and Juan Williams joined the ranks of the Iraq war amnesiacs. They agreed that Howard Dean had blundered by insisting the United States hadn't been made safer by Hussein's capture. Only toward the end of a brief dialogue did Williams remark, almost as an afterthought and without mentioning Dean's clear critique of the rationale the US had used for attacking Iraq, that no weapons of mass destruction had been found there.

"Public Broadcasting Under Siege," Common Cause Reports

The Common Cause Web site (www.commoncause.org) reported on Dec. 30, 2003, that the Bush administration "has awarded two major Republican donors"—Cheryl Halpern and Hart Gaines—"seats on the nine-member board of the Corporation for Public Broadcasting (CPB)." Halpern, in her confirmation hearings, indicated she "would welcome empowering the CPB board members to intervene in program content when they felt a program was biased." Gaines supported the proposal made in 1994 by Rep. Newt Gingrich (R-GA), when he was House Speaker, to cut "all federal assistance to public television."

NewTV Board Decision Permits Middle East News Broadcasts in English

The Board of Directors of NewTV, Newton's local access cable station, voted on Jan. 14 that the board's policy of not reviewing any programs for content will apply to programs imported via its new satellite. Legal responsibility for all program content, including satellite content, rests with the NewTV members who initiate it. The board's decision will permit the broadcast of the weekly program *Mosaic*, a compilation, in English translation, of news from Middle Eastern sources—Arabic, Iranian, Israeli. (*Mosaic* will be shown on Tuesdays at 10:30 p.m.) The board vote followed a discussion in which members of the public expressed contrasting opinions. Many speakers objected to the board's "content-neutral" position as allowing intolerant speech; others—including the initiator of the *Mosaic* broadcast, Arthur Obermayer—defended it on the grounds of the importance of freedom of speech and of the communication of opinion.

Whose Country Is It, Anyway?

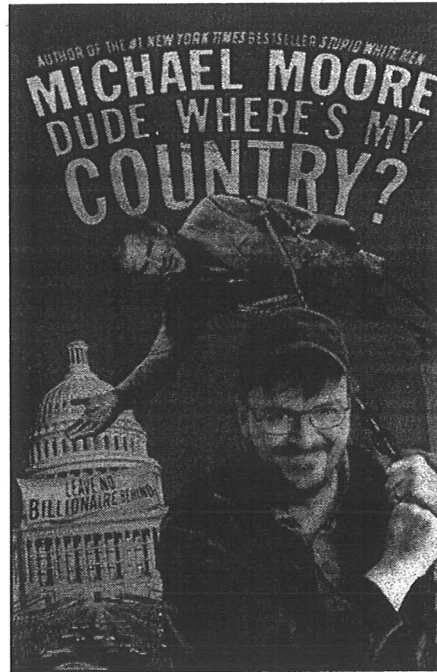
(Continued from page 3)

for years—his share of the fortune is estimated to be at least \$30 million.

Moore is outraged by the government's protection of this Saudi family. While he was stranded in Los Angeles on Sept. 11, scrambling to find a rental car because traveling by air was forbidden, two dozen members of the bin Laden family were allowed to fly in private jets, crisscrossing America as they prepared to leave the country. Moore shouts, "WHAT IS GOING ON HERE?" Why is the bin Laden family allowed to go back to Saudi Arabia instead of being held and questioned in the United States?

Well, it's a long story. The number-one supplier of oil to the US is Saudi Arabia. When Saddam Hussein invaded Kuwait, it was really the Saudis who felt threatened and George Bush I who came to the rescue. When White House aide Oliver North needed money to buy arms for Iran in the Iran-Contra affair, it was the Saudis who provided the \$30 million in secret cash. And when the Americans needed funds to help destroy the Italian Communist Party in 1985 and finance its opponents in elections, it was the Saudis who put \$10 million in an Italian bank. It was Bush I who was having the Saudi ambassador over for lunches. It was his friend the Saudi Prince Bandar (the ambassador) who donated \$1 million to the George Bush Library and Museum in Texas. The Saudis spent more than \$170 billion on armaments in the 1990s, and a chunk of the business went through the Carlyle Group. In other words, the oil companies pay the Saudis, and the Saudis pay them back. Prince Bandar is an investor in the Carlyle Group, Moore notes in his question to Bush II, and the prince even attended his mother's 75th birthday party in Kennebunkport. This is a very close relationship, indeed.

But there is more to this story. The Saudis have a trillion dollars invested in the US stock market and another trillion dollars sitting in American banks—a delicate situation. If the Saudis withdrew their money, financial institutions could be sent into a tailspin, causing an economic crisis that no one wants to talk about. Or suppose the half million barrels of oil that Americans need daily from the Saudis were to vanish on "a mere royal whim." Wow.



Now comes some heavy hitting. Moore wants to know why America has chosen to align itself with Saudi Arabia, which human rights groups say is one of "the most brutal dictatorships in the world." According to the Amnesty International Report 2003, for example, "Women continue to suffer severe discrimination. Torture and ill-treatment remained rife." Moore says something funny is going on here. The relationship between the United States and the Saudis, given the connection between the Saudis and Osama and his al-Queda network, just doesn't add up.

"How could a guy sitting in a cave in Afghanistan, hooked up to dialysis, have directed and overseen the actions of 19 terrorists for two years in the United States and then plotted so perfectly the hijacking of four planes?" Moore goes on to describe the complexity of al-Queda operations around the world and comes back to a key question regarding the hijacked planes.

Fifteen of the 19 hijackers were Saudis, so Moore asks, "George, let me ask you a question: If fifteen of the nineteen hijackers had been North Koreans, and they killed 3,000 people, do you think the headline the next day might read, 'North Korea Attacks the United States'? Of course it would." Or suppose fifteen Iranians or fifteen Cubans attacked New York and Washington—"What would you say?" And what would the newspapers say?

The personal and financial ties with the Saudis and Middle East oil are tight. According to the BBC, Taliban leaders were invited to come to Texas to meet with energy giant Unocal while Bush was governor. They came to discuss the possibility of building a natural gas pipeline through Afghanistan into Pakistan. Moore describes this process with his inimitable satire. These "brutal" Taliban leaders were given the red carpet at the most exclusive hotels and offered tours of major tourist sites; these "notorious thugs" were taken to the NASA space center. The Taliban "dictators" went to Omaha to learn how to build pipelines—all paid for by Unocal.

There are also hundreds of billions of dollars worth of natural gas and oil in the former Soviet Republics, just waiting to be tapped. Bush II was close to this oil action, meeting personally with Uzbekistan's ambassador on behalf of Enron. Enron Chairman Ken Lay thanked Bush for the productive meeting, "which will result in a friendship between Texas and Uzbekistan." But to be fair, Moore says, Dick Cheney was doing the same thing for Halliburton. Halliburton builds oil and gas pipelines when it's not building jails in Guantanamo Bay, ignoring human rights violations to do business with Burma, or working deals with Libya, Iran and Saddam's Iraq before 9/11.

When the Taliban rose to power in the mid-1990s, "they were met with absolute glee in Washington," according to Moore. He describes how Unocal planned to pay off the Taliban to build the pipeline through Afghanistan. The Taliban would then build an extension to run into India, where Enron was working to make the connection with a power plant. It did not seem to bother Unocal and Enron that Osama bin Laden was in Afghanistan with the government's blessing in 1996—the year he issued his call for holy war against the United States. And so this story of oil continues with Dick Cheney's secret energy task force and more details.

Read the book.

Editor's note: For more analysis and details from Moore's book, see our Web site, www.alternative-views.org.

ON THE LIGHTER SIDE

Code Purple: Beware of Weapons of Math Instruction

Excerpted by Frank Propp*

At New York's Kennedy airport, an individual later discovered to be a public school teacher was arrested trying to board a flight while in possession of a ruler, a protractor, a slide rule and a calculator.

At a morning press conference, Attorney General John Ashcroft said that he believes the man to be a member of the notorious al-Gebra movement. He is being charged by the FBI with carrying Weapons of Math Instruction.

"al-Gebra is a fearsome cult," Ashcroft said. "They desire average solutions by means and extremes, and sometimes go off on tangents in search of absolute value.

They consist of shadowy figures with names like 'x' and 'y,' and they frequently refer to themselves as 'unknowns.' We have determined they really belong to a common denominator and are part of the axis of medieval, with coordinates in every country."

When asked to comment on the arrest, President Bush said, "If God had wanted us to have better weapons of math instruction, he would have given us more fingers and toes."

A member of the presidential group, who spoke without attribution, said, "I am gratified that our government has given us a sine that it is intent on protracting us

from these math-dogs who are so willing to disintegrate us with calculus disregard. These [explicative deleted] want to inflict plane on every sphere of influence. Under the circumferences, it's time we differentiated their root, made our point, and drew the line."

President Bush warned, "These weapons of math instruction have the potential to decimal everything in their math on a scalene never before seen unless we become exponents of a Higher Power and begin to factor in random facts of vertex."

Attorney General Ashcroft said, "Here is one principle of uncertainty: though they continue to multiply, their days are numbered as the hypotenuse tightens around their necks."

*The original author is Anonymous. The above is an abbreviated version of an e-mail I received from a friend, who received it, in turn, from a friend, etc. Just as I made changes, others did too. If the original author is out there and recognizes the kernel of his/her work, please contact *Alternative Views* for credit.

Health Care News We Thought You Should Know...

Costs of imminent nursing shortage

The Universal Health Care Education Fund (UHCEF@aol.com) reported on Dec. 29, 2003, that one in five nurses is "planning to leave the profession within the next five years." The national average salary for medical-surgical nurses at this point is \$46,832; the average monetary cost of replacing each one who retires, however, is \$92,442. Nonmonetary costs include "negative patient outcomes" and an increase in malpractice expenses.

Medicare costs continue to rise

Also on Dec. 29, UHCEF said that out-of-pocket costs for Medicare beneficiaries in health plans had doubled since 1999. The average cost in 2003 was \$1,964, but persons in poor health paid \$5,305. These figures don't include cost sharing for mental health services, rehabilitation, and long-term care. The proposed \$400 billion in added benefits "will not even begin to slow the rate of increase in Medicare recipients' out-of-pocket costs."

Newton-Wellesley Hospital picks up Waltham patients

Under the subhead "Newton-Wellesley Taking Brunt of Waltham Patients," Emily Sweeney reported in *Globe West* (Jan. 8, 2004) that Newton-Wellesley Hospital is one of the "area hospitals... feeling the

pinch" of the closing six months ago of Waltham Hospital. Just an eight-minute car trip from the closed hospital, Newton-Wellesley has "definitely seen an increase in volume" from Waltham patients, according to spokesman Brian O'Dea. He said there had been a doubling in the number of Waltham residents spending the night at Newton-Wellesley since the shutting. Although a 24-hour urgent care unit—part of Sterling Medical Center—is operated by Newton-Wellesley Hospital on the old Waltham Hospital site, this unit "is cutting back hours."

When the imminent closing of Waltham Hospital was announced in 2001, Newton-Wellesley was among the area hospitals that began preparing "to absorb the 117-year old community hospital's patients." It provided "24 additional beds" by reopening an inpatient unit converted to office use. "We had staff," said O'Dea, "to handle the volume of patients that Waltham Hospital had been receiving. This volume began to increase in July 2003, reached a peak in September, and continued strong through the rest of 2003."

Newton-Wellesley has, during the past year, "been on diversion an average of 40 hours per month," but Mr. O'Dea said the hospital has "a goal of not being on diversion more than 10 hours a month."

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One-Year Anniversary
of the Iraq War**

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NOT ONE MORE DEATH

NOT ONE MORE DECEPTION

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www.justicewithpeace.org**

Is the United States Today a Democracy?

(Continued from page 1)

dards and Constitutional Freedoms in the War on Terrorism (New Press, 2003), has said that of 5,000 foreign nationals detained in the post-9/11 round-up of mainly Arabs and Muslims, "only five . . . had been charged with terrorist-related crime," and that of these five, two were acquitted. The Bush administration, Cole declared, "had embarked on the most sweeping campaign of ethnic profiling since the internment of citizens and non citizens of Japanese descent during World War II." [1]

Clear evidence of the Bush administration's crackdown on ethnically profiled immigrants appears in a December 18, 2003 dispatch released on the Common Dreams News Center Web site.

The dispatch begins by referring to a report of the Inspector General of the Department of Justice which "provides a wealth of detail substantiating allegations made by the Center of Constitutional Rights" in an April 2002 lawsuit. The suit, *Turkmen v. Ashcroft*, "was brought on behalf of a class of Arab and Muslim from South Asian and Middle Eastern countries . . . arrested [none of them on terrorism charges] in the wake of 9-11 by the INS on immigration charges — some as minor as overstaying one's visas for a few days — and held without justification for months on end in the Metropolitan Detention Center (MDC) in Brooklyn." The Inspector General's report, prepared after the IG had reviewed "hundreds of videotapes," many of which MDC officials "had failed to provide in response to earlier requests," and after he had interviewed MDC, Bureau of Prisons, and other Federal officials, is shattering. It "documents an ugly course of systematic brutality and verbal abuse directed against the 9-11 detainees by MDC officers and supervisors. Detainees reported that they were slammed against an American flag T-shirt that was hung on the wall and that it was bloodied." According to the report, MDC corrections officers "slammed detainees into walls; bent and twisted the hands of detainees, wrists and fingers; . . . left several detainees cuffed and shackled for seven hours in a cell; strip-searched detainees without any correctional justification."

Fortunately, the Inspector General of the Justice Department did his work well and was appropriately complimented by

Nancy Chang, Senior Litigation Attorney for the Center for Constitutional Rights, for his tenacity in ferreting out the shameful evidence. [2] Extremely disturbing, however, is the fact that only the filing of a lawsuit by the center, a private organization, against the Attorney General of the United States, has given persons violently mistreated a chance of obtaining whatever justice a civil action can provide.

Less fortunate than these particular immigrants are the numerous inmates of what a *New York Times* report on December 18, 2003, described as "the secretive universe" of "a global detention system run by the Pentagon and the Central Intelligence Agency, according to government officials." Held in centers "ranging from Afghanistan to the United States Naval Base at Guantanamo Bay in Cuba," these inmates include "suspected terrorists of Al Qaeda, Taliban warlords and former officials of the Iraqi government arrested by the United States and its allies since the Sept. 11 attacks . . . and the war in Iraq." Officials quoted in the *Times* report describe this prison system as one in which "the jailers have refined the arts of interrogation in order to drain the detainees of crucial information." Among the apparent refinements that the CIA uses is the altering of "the physical surroundings of the Qaeda detainees to try to disorient them and also convince them that they are being held by Arab security services feared for their use of torture."

Other techniques of interrogation the CIA has refused to comment on, but "a senior Pentagon official" is quoted as saying that among "certain techniques" the Pentagon employs, although only after approval by its high officials, is "sleep deprivation." [3] A BBC news report of May 20, 2003, is pertinent here. After quoting statements by members of the US Psychological Operations Company as indicating that sleep deprivation has been used to break prisoners' resistance — sometimes by the playing of "heavy metal" for 24 hours — it cites an Amnesty International spokesperson's comment that "if there is a prolonged period of sleep deprivation, it could well be considered torture." [4]

Is the United States today practicing towards its detainees inside and outside the United States the principles of democracy? Is the Bush administration exhibiting with

respect to the human rights of these persons what the Declaration of Independence spoke of as "a decent respect to the opinions of mankind"?

NOTES

[1] "The Docket" (ACLU), December 2003.

[2] www.commondreams.org/scriptfiles/news2003/1218-05.htm

[3] *New York Times*, "Hussein Enters Post-9/11 Web Of U.S. Prisons," Dec. 18, 2003.

[4] http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/3042907.stm

Saddam Hussein Found —But by Whom?

(Continued from page 1)

could get part of the bounty. 'It was intelligence, actionable intelligence,' claimed Lt. General Ricardo Sanchez, commander of coalition ground forces in Iraq. 'It was great analytical work.' But the widely held view that Kurdish intelligence was the key to the operation was supported in a statement released last Sunday [Dec. 14] by the Iraqi Governing Council. Ahmed Chalabi, leader of the Iraqi National Congress, said that Rasul Ali and his PUK special forces unit had provided vital information and more. . . . By late Sunday as the story went global, the Kurdish role was reduced to a supportive one in what was described by the Pentagon and US military officials as a 'joint operation.' . . . So just who did get to Saddam first, the Kurds or the Americans? . . . If the PUK themselves pulled off Saddam's capture, there would be much to gain from taking the \$25m bounty and any political guarantees the Americans might reward them with. . . . 'It's mutually worth it to us and the Americans. We need assurances for the future and they need the kudos of getting Saddam,' admitted a Kurdish source on condition of anonymity. It would be all too easy to dismiss the questions surrounding the PUK role as conspiracy theory. After all, almost every major event that affects the Arab world prompts tales that are quickly woven into intricate shapes and patterns, to demonstrate innocence, seek credit or apportion blame. Saddam's capture is no exception."

The Vanishing Case for War

Summary by Richard C. Sterne of an article by Thomas Powers, *New York Review of Books*, Dec. 4, 2003, 12, 14-17

Thomas Powers, author of *Intelligence Wars: American Secret History from Hitler to al-Qaeda*, calls the "invasion and conquest of Iraq by the United States last spring" the result of "probably the least ambiguous case of the misreading of secret intelligence information in American history." Yet this "misreading" he doesn't regard as a simple "mistake." The discovery that "Iraq's weapons of mass destruction didn't exist" ought to warn Americans, Powers says, of a serious threat to the functioning of our democracy: "the nexus of the White House and a too-pliant CIA—a closed loop of presidents who know what they want, intelligence chiefs willing to make the argument and classify the evidence, and members of Congress under their spell."

Powers divides his argument into three parts. Part 1 examines the run-up to the war after Sept. 11, 2001; it focuses on President Bush's identification of Iraq as part of an "axis of evil" in his January 2002 State of the Union speech; his warning in a September 2002 paper "establishing the administration's National Security Strategy" that the United States "will, if necessary, act preemptively"; and the administration's three interlocking claims to justify preemptive war: Iraq was "actively developing weapons of mass destruction including nuclear bombs"; Iraq was working secretly with the terrorist network responsible for the Sept. 11 attacks, Osama bin Laden's al-Qaeda; and an "imminent threat" existed in the form of the danger that Saddam Hussein "would provide terrorists with weapons of mass destruction."

Part 2 of Powers' argument compares these claims to justify preemptive war with "post-war" revelations by the Bush administration itself and by the House and Senate intelligence committees (the "Joint Inquiry"). Powers begins the comparison by placing side by side CIA weapons expert David Kay's "simultaneously frank and defensive" testimony before congressional intelligence committees on Oct. 2, 2003, and Secretary of State Colin Powell's speech making the case for war on Feb. 5 before the UN Security Council. Powers had ob-

served in Part 1 of his argument that Powell, with a "sharper nose for deceit . . . than the President's," said nothing to the Security Council to support Bush's untrue declaration, the week before, that the British government "has learned that Saddam Hussein recently sought significant quantities of uranium from Africa." But Powers added that Powell had "made a great many other general and specific claims about Saddam Hussein's weapons of mass destruction," claims that "at least in theory" should have been verifiable once American forces could freely inspect Iraq—claims on the truth of which "the justification of the American invasion of Iraq must stand or fall."

It was six months after American intelligence officers and weapons experts could begin to scour Iraq that David Kay—who'd been "hired by George Tenet to run the CIA's Iraq Survey Group"—gave his testimony. "It is difficult," Powers declares, "to convey the completeness of Kay's failure to find just about anything Powell cited as a justification for war." According to Powers'

count, eleven of Powell's claims were not even mentioned by Kay, and each of Kay's omissions amounts to the confession "not found." Among dangerous things not found are "the 100-500 tons of chemical weapons agent," the sarin and mustard gas, the possible 25,000 liters of anthrax, the "wherewithal to develop smallpox." Also in the "not found" category are "warheads containing biological warfare agent . . . hidden in large groves of palm trees" and the "factory with thousands of centrifuges intended to produce fissionable material for atomic bombs with the telltale aluminum tubes."

Calling "paltry and tentative" what Kay did find, Powers contrasts Powell's dramatic assertions that "a source said . . . 1,600 death row prisoners were transferred in 1995 to a special unit for . . . [chemical and biological] experiments. . . . An eyewitness saw prisoners tied down to beds, experiments conducted on them, blood oozing around the victims' mouths, and autopsies performed to confirm the effects" with

(Continued on page 8)

Primary Watch

The winning Democratic nominee needs 2159 delegates out of a total of 4317. 3520 pledged delegates are chosen by state primaries or caucuses; 797 are unelected, unpledged delegates. Dates and number of delegates are subject to change. We will update this list in every issue during the primary season.

Totals as of 1/22/04

	No.	%
John Kerry	17	37.6
John Edwards	14	31.9
Howard Dean	8	18.0
Dick Gephardt	5	10.6
Dennis Kucinich	1	1.3
Wesley Clark	0	0
Bob Graham	0	0
Al Sharpton	0	0

Primary Schedule

Date	State	Elected Delegates
Jan. 19	Iowa	45
Jan. 27	N. Hampshire	22

Feb. 3	Arizona	55		Rhode Island	21
	Delaware	15		Vermont	15
	Missouri	74	Mar. 8	American Samoa	3
	New Mexico	26	Mar. 9	Florida	177
	North Dakota	14		Louisiana	60
	Oklahoma	40		Mississippi	33
	So. Carolina	45		Texas	195
Feb. 6-9	Democrats abroad	7	Mar. 13	Kansas	33
Feb. 7	Michigan	128	Mar. 16	Illinois	156
	Washington	76	Mar. 20	Alaska	13
Feb. 8	Maine	24		Guam	3
Feb. 10	Tennessee	69		Wyoming	13
	Virginia	82	Apr. 13	Colorado	53
Feb. 14	D.C.	16	Apr. 17	Virgin Islands	3
	Nevada	24	Apr. 27	Pennsylvania	151
Feb. 17	Wisconsin	72	May 4	Indiana	67
Feb. 24	Hawaii	20		North Carolina	90
	Idaho	18	May 11	Nebraska	24
	Utah	23		West Virginia	28
Mar. 2 (Super Tuesday)			May 18	Arkansas	36
	California	370		Kentucky	49
	Connecticut	49		Oregon	46
	Georgia	86	June 1	Alabama	54
	Maryland	69		South Dakota	14
	Massachusetts	93	June 6	Puerto Rico	51
	Minnesota	72	June 8	Montana	15
	New York	236		New Jersey	107
	Ohio	140			

The Vanishing Case for War

(Continued from page 7)

Kay's discovery of "a prison laboratory network, possibly used in human testing of BW agents."

Powers says that Kay reported finding not only no chemical weapons, but no chemical weapons program since 1991; but Kay then hedged, implying something "might still turn up"—as it might, Kay suggested, with respect to thus far undiscovered "biological weapons factories on wheels," of which Powell had displayed schematic drawings and claimed the existence of at least seven.

Kay was given authority to hunt only for evidence of Iraqi weapons—and programs for the development of weapons—of mass destruction. Al-Qaeda's "history and operational style," says Powers, are dealt with in another document released in "sanitized form" in December 2002: a six-hundred-plus page report of the House and Senate intelligence committees (the "Joint Inquiry"), *Intelligence Community Activities Before and After the Terrorist Attacks of September 11, 2001*. Powers homes in on the conspicuous omission from this report of Iraq as a country in which al-Qaeda received support. On the other hand, among 21 countries in which al-Qaeda did seek "help or haven," according to the report, were Germany, the UK, Spain, Belgium, the Czech Republic, Switzerland, and the US.

The essential point of Part 3 of Powers' argument, following his assertion in Part 2 that the administration's "justification for war [was] completely wrong at the heart," is this: "The administration could never have convinced congress of its argument for war without the mystique of secret intelligence to lend gravity to its case; and the CIA would never have made so much of so little if George Tenet had not been a willing member of the President's team. . . . Presidents can fire directors they don't like. . . . Directors deliver what is wanted, or depart."

It is one thing to show a man that he is in error, and another to put him in possession of truth.

—John Locke

Casualties in Iraq Go Beyond the Physical

by James Murdock

The following links and excerpts provide a statistical accounting of those who have been evacuated from Iraq for medical reasons—and they also add a human dimension to the underreported casualties of US military personnel that, at this point, includes more than 500 dead and over 3,000 wounded.

In addition to the physical pain suffered by military personnel, the trauma they experience from a military operation that has killed thousands of civilians will affect the individual soldiers for the rest of their lives.

Medical Evacuations from Iraq Near 11,000
by Mark Benjamin, UPI, 12/19/03
<http://www.upi.com/print.cfm?StoryID=20031217-032344-8720r>

The total number of wounded soldiers and medical evacuations from the war in Iraq is nearing 11,000, according to new Pentagon data provided in response to a request from United Press International.

The military has made 8,581 medical evacuations for non-hostile causes in addition to the 2,273 wounded—a total of 10,854. The Pentagon says that 457 troops have died.

The Pentagon's casualty update for Operation Iraqi Freedom listed on its Web site, however, does not reflect thousands of the evacuations. It is a toll the country has not seen since Vietnam, said Aseneth Blackwell, former national president of Gold Star Wives of America, Inc.

US Mortuary Sees No Let-Up from Iraq War Dead
by David Morgan, Reuters, Jan. 11, 2004
<http://www.reuters.com/newsArticle.jhtml?type=topNews&storyID=4106881>

In November, US casualties in Iraq surpassed the number of Americans killed in the first three years of the Vietnam War, accord-

ing to a Reuters analysis of Pentagon statistics.

Soldiers, Marines Work to Recover from War Injuries
by Sig Christenson, *Express-News* (San Antonio), 8/18/03
<http://news.mysanantonio.com/story.cfm?xla=saen&xlb=180&xlc=1041406>

Most Americans haven't seen the growing legion of wounded troops returning from Iraq who are cared for at military facilities sealed off from the public. Little attention has been paid to the long, difficult and very personal struggles that ensue in wards at BAMC [Brooke Army Medical Center, Fort Sam Houston, Texas] and Walter Reed Army Medical Center in Washington. "A lot of soldiers are depressed," said Chaplain (Capt.) Tim Stiers, who served with the 3rd Infantry Division in Iraq and now is at BAMC.

It Shouldn't Happen to a Vet
Al Kennedy, *Guardian* (London), 1/7/04
<http://www.guardian.co.uk/comment/story/0,3604,1117569,00.html>

Or perhaps you've just finished a tour for Uncle Sam. Maybe you're one of last year's lucky amputees, or you've suffered a recent "mystery illness" or "mental breakdown." Well, give yourself a shake, shine up those new prosthetics and re-enlist today. The Department of Defense Inc. still needs you. And with veterans making up 9% of the US population but 23% of the homeless—and Veterans Affairs taking care of 40,000 out of 500,000—what better options have you got? You have a 50% chance of substance abuse and a 45% chance of mental illness—and let's not even talk about Gulf War syndrome and depleted uranium. In fact, let's not talk about that, ever.

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- Join our weekly vigil — every Thursday, 5 to 6 p.m., corner of Beacon and Centre Streets, Newton Center.
- Join our monthly meetings: usually held at 7:30, second Sunday every month, Eliot Church, 474 Centre Street, Newton Center.
- Commit yourself to working for peace and justice.

Newton Dialogues on Peace and War is represented at the monthly meetings of United for Justice with Peace community groups.

Alternative Views

www.alternative-views.org

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February 26, 2004

Faulty Intelligence My Eye

by David Morris, AlterNet, Feb. 3, 2004

David Kay was the perfect choice to head up Bush's search for weapons of mass destruction (WMD). He was in Iraq in 1991 with the UN inspection team. He was one of the most visible and vocal believers in the existence of WMDs in Iraq. And he was one of those who thought only an invasion and occupation would allow us to find and destroy them.

In short, no one wanted to find WMD more than David Kay.

In this effort he had not only motive but also opportunity. The inspection team could go anywhere and everywhere. And it did, in an effort that cost over \$400 million.

When Kay's final report concluded

that Saddam Hussein had no weapons of mass destruction that should have been the story. For one day it was. That day the front-page headline in the New York Times declared, "Iraq Illicit Arms Gone Before War, Inspector States."

Then the story took a fascinating, although in retrospect distinctly unsurprising twist. David Kay added an entirely new charge to his mission: to explain why we were wrong. This created a problem. For while David Kay's self-interest in finding weapons was the reason why he was the best person to lead the search, his self-interest in justifying his own predictive failure made him the worst person to explain why we had gone to war given that WMD did not exist.

Not surprisingly, Kay first declared that "we were almost all wrong." Then he blamed the CIA, not the White House or the Pentagon or the State Department. Indeed, he insisted, "I think if anyone was abused by the intelligence it was the president of the United States."

Within days President Bush had called for an Independent Commission. Its charge would be limited to discovering how the intelligence community could have been so inept. The Commission will report back after the election. The newspapers are now full of stories about intelligence blunders.

Have we suffered from collective amnesia?

(Continued on page 4)

Mosaic: Streaming TV Version Online

by Richard C. Sterne

Mosaic: World News from the Middle East, a program of selections translated into English from TV news programs available to some 280 million people in the Middle East, has long been accessible in about 20 million United States homes. It is now being broadcast weekly by Newton's public cable

access station, NewTV, and can also be seen and heard online in a "streaming" TV version at www.worldlinktv.org.

Mosaic programs are culled by an Israeli and a Palestinian editor, based in California, from television broadcasts originating in "more than 15 countries in the Middle East including Egypt, Lebanon, Israel, the Palestinian Authority, Syria, and Iran, among others." The Israeli Broadcasting Authority, however, has requested that "their content, although part of the TV broadcast," not be included in the streamed versions — which are those that have been viewed for this report.

What the streamed broadcasts reveal at

once is that Middle East news programs are quite similar in at least one respect to American nightly news broadcasts on ABC, CBS, NBC, and PBS: they report what are considered important events from various parts of the world. The chief difference in the Mosaic programs from American ones is their tone — which conveys a preoccupation with, and apprehension about, the United States' use of its great power.

The first report on a recent program — it was presented by a woman dressed in the Western fashion — concerned a meeting of British, Libyan, and United States govern-

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EDITORS' NOTE

The Middle East, the US & Newton

Jane Brown's editorial cartoon for this number of *Alternative Views* indicates, in the vividly condensed way words cannot, the gap between what President Bush claims to have accomplished and what his policies have actually wrought.

"Faulty Intelligence My Eye," by David Morris (AlterNet, Feb. 3, 2004), blames not the "intelligence" supplied to President Bush—as David Kay did in explaining his team's failure to find WMDs in Iraq—but rather, in the words of former CIA official Vincent Cannistraro, the "tremendous pressure" on the CIA "to come up with information to support policies that [had] already been adopted."

Morris recalls the pre-war skepticism expressed about Iraq's alleged possession of WMDs by former UN weapons inspector Scott Ritter, by Hans Blix, head of the UN inspection team in 2003, and by Mohamed El Baredi, head of the International Atomic Agency.

Richard C. Sterne's analytical report on two episodes of *Mosaic: World News from the Middle East*, which is available online in a "streaming" version, finds in them distrust and apprehension about US power and an anti-Israel orientation. But he discovered in these two episodes none of the anti-Jewish propaganda alleged by critics to characterize *Mosaic*, which is being broadcast weekly by Newton's public access cable station, NewTV. *Alternative Views* plans to report again on *Mosaic* in the near future.

Jerry Manning's impassioned opinion piece "Out of Iraq" presents evidence of Iraqis' lack of confidence in the "reconstruction" being performed by US and British occupation forces; of the "admittedly poor intelligence" available to the US forces "about who is actually participating in armed resistance"; of violations of "the Geneva Convention prohibiting collective punishment"; of oil's having been "a key art of the equation" in the US decision to go to war against Iraq. And although Jerry Manning concedes that if the United States just leaves Iraq, there may be "chaos and bloodshed," he maintains "we must get out of Iraq before our souls are buried there alongside the bodies of our soldiers." The next issue of *Alternative Views* will include a piece suggesting, although with doubts comparable to those expressed in "Out of Iraq," an alternative to the proposal that the United States just leave.

The second article questioning the extent of actual democracy in our country, "Help Needed for Democracy in the United States" (see number 7, "Is the United States Today a Democracy?"), focuses on urgent US economic problems: that of persistent joblessness—tragically illustrated in the case of the young South Carolinian who, having failed to find employment, joined the army and was killed in Iraq; that of corporate tax evasion of "epidemic proportions"; and that of large-scale violations of



Jane Brown

Portrait of a Narcissistic Personality Disorder: "grandiose sense of self-importance, e.g., exaggerates achievements and talents, expects to be recognized as superior without commensurate achievements." (*Diagnostic and Statistical Manual IV*)

the minimum wage law. Although the attorney general of New York is acting vigorously to force cheating employers to pay workers the minimum wages owed them, we need more fundamental remedies for this and other economic injustices. The article recalls President Franklin D. Roosevelt's "Four Freedoms" inaugural address of January 1941, in which, among the freedoms he envisioned, "everywhere in the world," was "freedom from want," which he interpreted to mean "a healthy peacetime life" for all people. Who can fail to think of US health costs today?

This edition of *Alternative Views* also includes a "Human Rights Watch" report, updates on the Democratic presidential primaries, and "Health Watch" material on the issue of universal care.

Alternative Views

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Out of Iraq

by Jerry Manning

49A

We should end our military occupation of Iraq and withdraw from that country, because we are losing our souls there. Not only does continued occupation fuel a spiral of violence, but the US-led reconstruction is designed to benefit oil companies and not to help ordinary Iraqi people.

A poll by Oxford Research International found that 79 percent of Iraqis said they have no confidence in the US and British occupation forces. Only 9 percent of Iraqis said that reconstruction is what Iraqis need most.

These opinions are consistent with what is known of the occupation. The US military alternates between holing up in barracks blockaded by concrete blocks and going out at midnight to raid Iraqi towns. These dragnets kill, injure, and arrest civilians, given the admittedly poor intelligence about who is actually participating in armed resistance. Almost every day, American and British newspapers report incidents in which bystanders are killed for no reason. In an ordinary week in December, a father was killed while running into the street to snatch his child from the midst of flying bullets, and a woman was cut down as she was leaving a mosque. After the US military reported that they had killed Fedayeen, members of the pro-Saddam irregular army units who are identified by their black uniforms, the only corpse to be found was that of a woman dressed in a black burka. Incidents that occur by "accident" — that is, which are the inevitable results of military occupation — are deliberately misreported by the army. According to the *New York Times*, on Jan. 8 in Falluja an American unit came under "indirect fire" and responded with grenades and small-arms fire. At daylight, enraged neighbors said the Americans had killed a married couple and orphaned their five children. The statement from the American military said only that "civilians in the area reported two dead personnel were taken to a nearby hospital."

The US army boasts of its "tough" tactics against the resistance. The new strategy "must not only punish the guerrillas but also make clear to ordinary Iraqis the cost of not cooperating" — a violation of

the Geneva Convention prohibiting collective punishment. Entire villages are encircled by barbed wire fencing. A sign posted in Abu Hishma says: "This fence is for your protection. Do not approach, or you will be shot." Captain Todd Brown told a reporter: "You have to understand the Arab mind. The only thing they understand is force — force, pride, and saving face." Colonel Sassaman said: "With a heavy dose of fear and violence, and a lot of money for projects, I think we can convince these people that we are here to help them."

In Samarra, "Using sledgehammers, crowbars, explosives and armored vehicles,

No wonder nearly 8 out of 10 Iraqis say they have no confidence in the American occupation. . . . Just nine in a hundred Iraqis think that the US-led reconstruction is what they need most.

U.S. forces smashed down the gates of homes and the doors of workshops and junkyards. . . . Loud blasts mixed with the sound of women and children screaming. . . . An explosion shattered windows, cutting a one-year-old baby. . . . U.S. medics treated the injury while other soldiers handcuffed four men, who were later released. . . . Colonel Sassaman said, "We're gonna clean this place. . . . We will dominate Samarra" (*New York Times*, Dec. 17, 2003) A 70-year-old man died of a heart attack when US troops put a bag over his head and prepared to detain him (*New York Times*, Dec. 22, 2003). In another small town, "a sixty-year-old Iraqi woman was killed when soldiers blasted open the reinforced steel door of her home."

No wonder nearly 8 out of 10 Iraqis say they have no confidence in the American occupation. But what about money for reconstruction, which Col. Sassaman acknowledges is to convince these people

that the US is there to help them? *Just nine in a hundred Iraqis think that the US-led reconstruction is what they need most.* Ordinary Iraqis see continued destruction. The infamous \$87 billion authorized by Congress is primarily earmarked for the US military, not for reconstruction projects. And the projects that are being undertaken focus primarily on the redevelopment and control of Iraq's oil fields and pipelines. Halliburton dominates reconstruction, while the colonel dominates Samarra.

It is difficult to believe in the good intentions of Bush and company. The claim that they conquered Iraq because they thought our security was endangered by weapons of mass destruction loses credibility from the failure of UN inspectors to find any before the war and the failure of US experts to find any after the war. The weak possibility that there may have been a connection between the ideologically secular Ba'athists and the fanatical Islamic fundamentalist Osama bin Ladin has disappeared from the list of excuses for the invasion. Should we feel proud to be Americans when a generous Paul Wolfowitz says that he wished "to help the Iraqi people build a free and democratic country"? Or should we feel shame when a sharp Paul Wolfowitz observes that "Iraq swims on a sea of oil"? Bush and Cheney are oilmen.

It is well to recall the story of Iran. Before World War II, the Anglo-Iranian oil company was part of the British Empire. The Iranians periodically asked for some of the profits or better working conditions, but the British would invariably refuse. Iran was being plundered of its natural resources. After the war, Mossadegh, a liberal, secular, Westernized intellectual from the Iranian elite, was cast into a leadership role. In response to strong pressures from below, he sought to use the profits from Iranian oil to benefit the Iranian nation. By that time, the Americans had replaced the British as the preeminent world power, and the US vowed that, goddammit, no commie pinko was going to take the Anglo-Iranian oil company away from us just as we were becoming its rightful owners and seeking to change its name to the American-Iranian oil company. The two Dulles brothers who

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Mosaic: Streaming TV Version Online

(Continued from page 1)

ment representatives to discuss the process of destruction of Libya's weapons of mass destruction, the possible lifting of some U. S. sanctions on Libya and the renewal of limited diplomatic ties between the two countries. Then came a report of a US Defense Department announcement that military lawyers had been appointed to defend two Guantanamo detainees; the Middle Eastern presenter described the detainees in general as being held under close American surveillance. Following this was an account of a demonstration by hundreds of Iraqi inhabitants in front of an American military base, demanding the release of detainees — especially those who hadn't been involved in any attacks on US forces — and the end of random daily searches of Iraqi homes.

A long report on the suicide attack in

the Moscow subway — an operation referred to as the kind usually carried out by Chechen separatists — described it as "terrorist." This word was not used, however, in an account on the preceding day of the suicide bombing in Jerusalem: it was characterized as a "martyr operation." The reporter then quoted Hamas as defending its "legitimate right" to confront Israeli massacres. A mainstream Palestinian political leader subsequently shown on the screen, however, had a more nuanced comment: "Escalated Israeli violence," he said, had created an atmosphere that encouraged the Jerusalem attack.

Another portion of the same news segment focusing on the Israeli-Palestinian conflict referred to a difference of viewpoint between European Union countries and many other countries, concerning the fence the Israelis are building — partly on

the Palestinian side of the "green line." It was reported that the EU considers the fence a political issue, while those other countries want to bring the matter before the International Criminal Court in The Hague.

In the streaming news episodes watched, which were broadcast on Thursday, February 5, and Friday, February 6, 2004, the presentation of news about the Israeli/Palestinian conflict was clearly pro-Palestinian in tone. This bias obviously differs from the pro-Israel orientation of United States media in general. Nothing in these particular *Mosaic* episodes, however, conveyed to this writer what some opponents of the showing of the program on NewTV in Newton have characterized as nothing but anti-Semitic propaganda.

Of all the images — including shots of

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Faulty Intelligence My Eye

(Continued from page 1)

Have we forgotten that there were highly credible people who were telling the White House that Iraq did not have weapons of mass destruction? Scott Ritter, former intelligence officer and senior official in the UN's inspection team in Iraq for seven years was one such highly visible — and highly credible — critic. Back in 1991 during Operation Desert Storm, Ritter told his superiors something they not only didn't want to hear but didn't believe: that the allies had failed to destroy any Iraqi Scud missile launchers. He was later vindicated.

Ritter indicated that as of 1998, when the UN team was withdrawn from Iraq, 90-95 percent of its capacity to produce chemical and biological weapons had been eliminated. And there was no evidence that Iraq had nuclear weapons.

In the halls of Congress and on the editorial pages of the *Wall Street Journal* Ritter's well-reasoned argument was dismissed as the ravings of a lunatic. He was accused of being in the pay of Saddam Hussein.

When asked about Ritter's allegations Richard Butler, Ritter's old boss at the United Nations weapons inspection team said on CNN, "I don't know why. I'm not a psychoanalyst." David Kay told Congress, "I cannot explain it on the basis of known

facts." Secretary of State Colin Powell contrasted his own scientific approach with that of Ritter, "We have facts, not speculation."

Ritter wasn't the only credible skeptic. Have we forgotten the repeated rebuttals of assertions by the White House of mobile and underground biological labs by Hans Blix, head of the UN inspection team in 2003? Have we forgotten the terse refutation by Mohamed El Baredi [ElBaradei], head of the International Atomic Energy Agency of the Pentagon assertion that Iraq had nuclear weapons?

Have we forgotten the flurry of stories in national newspapers in late 2002 and early 2003 that described how the White House and Pentagon were pressuring the CIA to come up with "intelligence" that would support their position? In March 2003 the *Washington Post* quoted a senior administration official with access to the latest intelligence who said, "I have seen all the stuff. I certainly have doubts." The U.S., he said, will "face significant problems in trying to find" such weapons.

Have we forgotten how Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld set up an intelligence unit in the Pentagon to help him undermine the CIA's cautionary intelligence reports on Iraq?

"Even as it prepares for war against

Iraq, the Pentagon is already engaged on a second front: its war against the Central Intelligence Agency," wrote Robert Dreyfuss in the *American Prospect* in December 2002. Dreyfuss quotes Vincent Cannistraro, a former senior CIA official and counter-terrorism expert who describes the "tremendous pressure on (the CIA) to come up with information to support policies that have already been adopted."

What should be done? First, insist that those who got it right, like Scott Ritter, become regular commentators on Iraq on network and cable news stations. Second, widen the mandate of the Commission so that it can examine whether and to what extent the intelligence community was bypassed or compromised by the White House and Pentagon. Third, ask the Commission to report back before the election.

And finally, stop asking David Kay for advice and counsel. He's admitted he was wrong. He's refused to own up to the reason for his mistake. Such behavior deserves no reward.

David Morris is co-founder and vice president of the Institute for Local Self Reliance in Minneapolis, Minnesota.

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Source: <http://www.alternet.org/print.html?StoryID=17744>

ANALYSIS

Help Needed for Democracy in the United States

by Richard C. Sterne

Last month we asked, "Is the United States Today a Democracy?" and provided information strongly indicating that our government's treatment of Arab and Muslim immigrant detainees since 9/11, and of the inmates of what the *New York Times* described as "a global detention system run by the Pentagon and the Central Intelligence Agency" has violated American democratic principles.

This month we examine other troubling contrasts between Lincoln's cherished idea of a "government of the people, by the people, for the people" and the actual relationship between the government and the inhabitants (not only the citizens) of the United States. We shall also point to ways in which a country dedicated to the principle that all persons are created equal would treat its own people and deal with other countries.

Writing from South Carolina, "a state with plenty of poor people," black and white, Bob Herbert recounts in the *New York Times* what "a woman named Elaine Johnson told Senator John Edwards about her son Darius" at a Democratic candidates' forum. "She said she gave Darius three choices: go to college, get a job or join the military. 'He wasn't ready for college,' his mother said. He couldn't find a job. So he joined the army and was killed in Iraq." [1]

Herbert says that the jobless rate in some counties of South Carolina approaches 20 percent. (He also observes that "one of the biggest reasons politicians . . . trample on issues of crucial importance to low-income Americans — issues like jobs, education and access to health care — is the traditionally poor voting habits of that segment of the population.") In New England, we recall the high unemployment caused more than a generation ago by the migration of textile manufacturers to low-wage states like North and South Carolina. Now, with textile manufacturing migrating even farther away — to China, for example — young men like Darius feel they have to join the army just to get a paycheck.

But it is not only people disadvantaged by their relative lack of education or tech-

nical skills who are out of a job in the United States today. Many able white-collar workers are being replaced by well-educated, low-salaried laborers, either abroad or invited by employers from abroad. Dario Giraldo, after developing information technologies for 12 years for the Washington state government, was laid off and replaced by "a less-expensive Indian programmer brought to the United States on a work visa." Giraldo's offer to cut his own "standard \$65 an hour rate in half to get the job" at the Washington State Department of Social and Health Services elicited a boast from his former manager that "he could hire the foreign workers for 'almost nothing, and they work 60 hours a week without overtime pay, and without complaints.'" At the age of 50, therefore, Giraldo is looking for work while receiving a check "for just under \$500 a week in unemployment benefits." [2]

The contrast between the meagerness for individuals of both federal unemployment benefits and the \$5.15 minimum wage (the latter poorly enforced by an understaffed Wage and Hour Division of the Department of Labor), on the one hand, and the fiscal generosity of the Bush administration toward corporations, on the other, should make angels weep — and make Americans demand a square deal. Paul Krugman, writing about the national budget released on Feb. 2, asserts that tax evasion "has reached epidemic proportions." Revenue from the tax on corporations, he says, is down "as a percent of G.D.P., to 1930's levels," the "economic recovery . . . has bypassed workers but given big gains to their employers," and the administration "might be able to find \$100 billion more each year" if it "actually tried" to make corporations pay their taxes. But Krugman made clear in an earlier column his view that the main reason total federal receipts "as a share of national income are now at their lowest level since 1950" — with taxes like the payroll tax falling "mainly on middle-income Americans" — is the right wing's determination to "'starve the beast.'" In other words, behind the administration's insistence that deficits "are the result of runaway spending, which

must be curbed," Krugman says, is its ultimate goal: "to slash government programs that help the poor and the middle class, and use the savings to cut taxes for the rich." [4]

There is at least a wisp of good news concerning the problem of the frequently violated minimum wage law, first enacted under the 1938 Fair Labor Standards Act. But one wishes the *New York Times* had put its story about the battle of New York State Attorney General Eliot Spitzer ("who has made headlines for his fights on behalf of Wall Street investors") for New York's low-wage workers on page one, above the fold, rather than on A25. [5] If widely known, the story might encourage many other public servants to imitate Spitzer. In one instance, a furious waitress at a Queens, New York, restaurant having complained to Spitzer's office that the owner was paying her no wages but "making her rely solely on tips," the attorney general subpoenaed her co-workers — whom the owner was pressuring "to sign affidavits saying they were being paid the minimum

(Continued on page 6)

SAVE THE DATE

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One-Year Anniversary
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Amnesty International Calls Attention to Human Rights Violations

On behalf of Amnesty International, members of a Newton Amnesty International group sent letters in January 2004 requesting attention to particular violations of human rights to Joseph Kabila, President, Democratic Republic of Congo; Ariel Sharon, Prime Minister, Israel; and Tony Blair, Prime Minister, United Kingdom.

The letter to President Kabila expresses concern about "the abuses of women that have occurred over the last five years of violent conflict in the eastern provinces of the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC)," specifies that according to Amnesty International "more than 100 cases of rape and sexual abuse were reported within a ten-week period in 2003, including sexual torture of women committed in front of their husbands or other family members," and observes that the "prevalence of HIV/AIDS among combatants has added considerably to the trauma faced by the victims." While appreciating "the difficulties your government faces in re-establishing order under the current circumstances," the letter calls on President Kabila "to take immediate measures to end the violence against the people of the Democratic Republic of Congo" and "to devote particular attention to the protection of vulnerable groups, including women and children."

The letter to Prime Minister Sharon criticizes the detention of Muhammad Hassan Mustafa al-Najjar, who was 15 years old at the time of his arrest on Nov. 22, 2002, as a violation of the Convention on the Rights of the Child, which states: "No child shall be deprived of his or her liberty unlawfully or arbitrarily. The arrest, detention or imprisonment of a child shall be in conformity with the law and shall be used only as a measure of last resort and for the shortest appropriate period

of time." Muhammad al-Najjar, according to the letter, "has had no contact with his parents since the day of his arrest," and the boy's lawyer's request for a private psychiatric examination of his client because of trauma al-Najjar suffered "as a result of being held for 45 days in solitary confinement at the beginning of his detention," has so far been refused. The letter urges the release of the young man "unless he is promptly charged with a recognizable criminal offense and brought to trial in line with international standards."

The letter to Prime Minister Blair expresses concern "to read that a man detained by UK soldiers in Iraq died in custody three days later." Eight Iraqis, according to Amnesty International, were arrested by UK soldiers on Sept. 14, 2003, after alleged discovery of weapons in the Basra hotel in which they had been working. The body of one of the men, Baha' Dawud al-Maliki, which was identified by his father, "was said to be severely bruised and covered in blood." Another of the eight detainees, Kefah Taha, "is being treated for renal failure and severe bruising to his upper abdomen and the right side of his chest, according to UK army hospital records. A. I. is seeking further information on the other six detainees."

The letter expresses alarm "that Baha' Dawud al-Maliki's death may have been caused by torture while in the custody of members of the Royal Military Police." Mr. Blair is urged "to see to it" that the incident is promptly and impartially investigated "by an independent body" and "that the results of the investigation are made public." The Prime Minister's assistance is also requested "in clarifying the fate and legal status of the other seven detainees."

Help Needed for Democracy

(Continued from page 5)

wage" — to testify under oath that in fact they were not being paid. Last June, Spitzer announced that the owner "had agreed to pay \$460,000 for minimum-wage violations." In another of several cases cited in the *Times* report, Spitzer "announced that the Gristede's supermarket chain would pay \$3.2 million to hundreds of African immigrants who often received \$2 an hour delivering its groceries, far less than the \$5.15 minimum wage."

Denying any involvement of political calculation in his efforts on behalf of immigrant workers, Spitzer pointed out that most of them "do not even vote." One of them, a Gristede's deliveryman who is from Burundi, said "many co-workers would use their back pay to go to college or bring their families to America."

Sixty-three years ago, on January 6, 1941, Franklin D. Roosevelt looked forward in a State of the Union address "to a world founded upon four essential human freedoms." The first and second of them — "freedom of speech and expression" and "freedom of every person to worship God in his own way" — were traditional democratic liberties, but Roosevelt's emphasis on their importance "everywhere in the world" must have had poignant meaning for the millions of Europeans, especially those already chosen for unprecedentedly hideous treatment under the Nazi heel.

The third freedom, however, was strikingly new in an American presidential speech: "freedom from want — which, translated into world terms, means economic understandings which will secure to every nation a healthy peacetime life for its inhabitants — everywhere in the world." New also in such a speech was the fourth freedom: "freedom from fear — which, translated into world terms, means a worldwide reduction of armaments to such a point and in such a thorough fashion that no nation will be in a position to commit an act of physical aggression against any neighbor — anywhere in the world."

The charter of the United Nations — founded in April 1945, shortly after Roosevelt's death — is reminiscent of the freedoms he had proclaimed: "We the peoples of the United Nations" declare their determination to end "the scourge the war," to

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Mosaic Online

(Continued from page 4)

Blair, Bush, Arafat, and Sharon — shown on the streaming news broadcasts referred to above, the one that has left the most intense impression in this writer's mind is that of the grieving British father of a young man who after induction into the army had been inoculated against anthrax

and then killed while on military duty in Iraq. Bitterly the father declared that the British participation in the Iraq war was a bad mistake and that his son had died "for American oil supplies."

Alternative Views will report again on *Mosaic* news in a future issue.

Out of Iraq

(Continued from page 3)

played key roles were oilmen: John Foster Dulles, the secretary of state, was the senior partner of Sullivan and Cromwell, the Rockefeller law firm; Allen Dulles was head of the CIA. Allen gave CIA agent Kim Roosevelt, a descendent of rough-riding imperialist Teddy, the task of overthrowing Mossadegh. He subcontracted the dirty work to the street thugs of Tehran, who installed the Shah together with his Savak, the vicious secret police who took care of the real communists who had organized the oil workers. So the US got what it wanted, Iranian oil, at the cost of destroying the normal development of Iranian political culture. The overthrow of the Shah by forces loyal to the Ayatollah was the altogether logical result.

Iran in the 1950s is not Iraq today. But the American oilmen of today do not hide their interests or conceal their role in shaping current US policy. Take, for example, James A. Baker III, the Houston oilman and family friend of the Bushes, who was instrumental in stopping the vote count in Florida and has now been assigned to restructure Iraq's foreign debt. The James A. Baker III Institute of Public Policy at Rice University proclaims on its Web site: "Located in Houston, Texas, the energy capital of the world, the James A. Baker III Institute of Public Policy created the Energy Forum. . . . The mission of the Energy Forum is . . . educating policy makers and the public about . . . the nature of global energy markets . . . and the security of vital supplies needed to fuel world economic growth. . . . Our goal [is] the exchange of ideas on how to improve understanding of the . . . forces that influence open access to energy resources and their equitable distribution." "Open access" means American access, "equitable distribution" means American control. Sponsors of the Energy Forum include Anadarko Petroleum, Apache (a Texas oil company), Baker Hughes (a Texas oil equipment company), British Petroleum, ChevronTexaco, ConocoPhillips, Duke Energy, ExxonMobil, Halliburton, Kuwait Petroleum, Marathon Oil, Noble Drilling, Petroleum Energy Center of Japan, Qatar Petroleum, Saudi Aramco, Shell. Note the representation of nations

that supported the invasion: Shell is Dutch, the Japanese prime minister has just sent his troops into Iraq, BP goes without saying.

Before the invasion, the Baker Institute Energy Forum, together with the Council on Foreign Relations, published a working group report titled "Guiding Principles for U.S. Post-Conflict Policy in Iraq," which included a detailed discussion of Iraq's energy capabilities and prospects. In 2001, the Baker Institute and the Council on Foreign Relations cosponsored a task force on US strategic energy policy which "offered 110 recommendations to the Cheney task force." No wonder Cheney refuses to release the records of his secret energy task force: the whole thing was stacked with the world's oil industry, at least the part of it that he and Baker have opened to equitable distribution.

So perhaps it is true that Bush, Cheney, Wolfowitz, Rumsfeld, Pearl, Rice, Baker and company have not presented their real reasons for going to war, that oil may be a key part of the equation, and that they have wrecked Iraq and made life miserable for its people. We can't just leave. We have a responsibility to put things right. But let's think about that. Will Bush and Cheney put things right? Will Wolfowitz and Rumsfeld accept their humanitarian responsibility?

Will Baker, who argued before his Supreme Court that Florida's votes not be counted accurately, design free elections in Iraq? Should we wait for a Democrat to put things right? We can wait for Godot also.

I have to get down to brass tacks now, which are sharp and dangerous to handle. A lot of us are fearful of the aftermath of a US withdrawal, and so am I. There may be chaos and bloodshed, score-settling from the period of Ba'athist domination and reprisals against those who collaborated with the US occupation. Fundamentalist Shiites may again not be allowed to put theocracy into practice. Authoritarian rule may return. But none of us has a crystal ball. And why do we imagine that the future of Iraq is up to us anyway? Not so long ago, our own civilized country determined its destiny through a savage civil war without the interference of alien gods.

We must get out of Iraq before our souls are buried there alongside the bodies of our soldiers. If we want to help mend the destruction we have wrought, we can pay reparations to whatever government emerges in exchange for a treaty of nonbelligerence and permission to allow United Nations inspections of nuclear facilities.

Primary Watch

The winning Democratic nominee needs 2159 delegates out of a total of 4317. 3520 pledged delegates are chosen by state primaries or caucuses; 797 are unelected, unpledged delegates. Dates and number of delegates are subject to change. We will update this list in every issue during the primary season.

Totals as of 2/22/04

	No.
John Kerry	608
* Howard Dean	201
John Edwards	190
* Wesley Clark	74
Al Sharpton	16
* Joseph Lieberman	9
* Dick Gephardt	3
Dennis Kucinich	2
* Dropped out of race	

Primary Schedule (remaining primaries)

Date	State	Elected Delegates
Feb. 24	Hawaii	20
	Idaho	18
	Utah	23
Mar. 2 (Super Tuesday)	California	370
	Connecticut	49
	Georgia	86
	Maryland	69
	Massachusetts	93
	Minnesota	72
	New York	236
	Ohio	140
	Rhode Island	21
	Vermont	15
Mar. 8	American Samoa	3
Mar. 9	Florida	177
	Louisiana	60
	Mississippi	33
	Texas	195

Mar. 13	Kansas	33
Mar. 16	Illinois	156
Mar. 20	Alaska	13
	Guam	3
	Wyoming	13
Apr. 13	Colorado	53
Apr. 17	Virgin Islands	3
Apr. 27	Pennsylvania	151
May 4	Indiana	67
	North Carolina	90
May 11	Nebraska	24
	West Virginia	28
May 18	Arkansas	36
	Kentucky	49
	Oregon	46
June 1	Alabama	54
	South Dakota	14
June 6	Puerto Rico	51
June 8	Montana	15
	New Jersey	107

Help Needed for Democracy

(Continued from page 6)

reaffirm faith "in the dignity and worth of the human person," and "to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom."

It is unhappily true that despite some notable successes in particular cases, the United Nations has not succeeded in achieving the worldwide reduction of armaments that Roosevelt had aspired to, or in ending the scourge of war, or in adequately defending human dignity and worth; and that such specialized UN agencies as the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development have been widely perceived as promoting not widespread "freedom from want," but unfair "free" trade benefiting, primarily, powerful corporate interests.

Yet the United Nations, which needs to be significantly reformed in order to represent "the peoples" in whose name its charter was conceived, still represents the world's best hope of averting wars — and genocides — and of attacking the economic and social problems that fuel so much of the violence directed against "developed" countries. If the United States were to support the United Nations wholeheartedly instead of trying mainly to "use" it; if it were to ratify international treaties looking to the welfare of the planet; and if within our own borders, it were to seek not chiefly the advantage of the wealthy, but adequate employment, education, and health care for all people, as well as the protection of their constitutional liberties, we would be justified in calling our country a democracy.

NOTES

- [1] Bob Herbert, "Vote, and the Pols Will Listen," *New York Times*, Feb. 2, 2004.
- [2] WashTech News (published by Washington Alliance of Technology Workers, Communications Workers of America), Dec. 16, 2003, <http://www.washtech.org/wt/news/industry/display.php?ID Content=4638>.
- [3] Paul Krugman, "Another Bogus Budget," *New York Times*, Feb. 3, 2004.
- [4] Paul Krugman, "Red Ink Realities," *New York Times*, Jan. 27, 2004.
- [5] Steven Greenhouse, "Beating Wall St., and the Corner Grocery; Workers of All Incomes Find Powerful Ally in State Attorney General," *New York Times*, Jan. 21, 2004.

More Health Care News We Thought You Should Know. . .

The need for a universal health care system in this country is pointed up in two pieces from the *Boston Globe* of Feb. 10, 2004, one by Judy Foreman, the other by Liz Kowalczyk. The Foreman article, "My Fellow Americans: Want a Health Tip? Move to Canada," says that an "impressive array of comparative data shows that Canadians live longer and healthier lives than we do" and that "they pay roughly half as much per capita as we do—\$2,163 versus \$4,887 in 2001—for the privilege."

Various explanations have been offered as to why Canadians fare better: Canada's single-payer, universal health coverage system; the country's "different ethnic mix"; Canadians' use of "fewer illegal drugs" and their tendency to shoot each other less with guns; the Canadian medical system's being "tilted more toward primary-care doctors and less toward specialists"; and "a smaller gap between rich and poor" than in the US.

Although Americans "spend half of the world's health care bill," according to Dr. Stephen Bezruczka, a senior lecturer in the University of Washington at Seattle School of Public Health, "there is not a single measure in which the US excels in the health care arena." Infant mortality rates "show striking differences between the United States and Canada," according to Dr. Clyde Hertzman, associate director of the Centre for Health Services and Policy Research at the University of British Columbia, who countered the argument that racial differences play a major role in these outcomes: he said the US infant mortality rate for white babies, between 1970 and 1986, was roughly 6 deaths

per 1,000 babies, compared with slightly more than five for all Canadian babies.

As for maternal mortality, according to data published last year by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, "an international think tank," for every 100,000 births in the US there were 9.8 maternal deaths, compared with 3.4 maternal deaths for every 100,000 births among Canadians.

Kowalczyk's article, "Doctors Support National Insurance," reports that 63 percent of 904 Massachusetts doctors, including those at teaching hospitals and those who see patients in private offices, chose single-payer "as the best system." Fee-for-service was picked by 26 percent, while just 11 percent chose managed care. The results of a study conducted by four physicians affiliated with the Harvard Medical School who belong to a nonprofit organization advocating universal health coverage was published on Feb. 10, 2004, in the *Archives of Internal Medicine*, "a respected medical journal."

According to Robert Blendon, a professor of health policy and political analysis at the Harvard School of Public Health, "a key weakness" of the study is that doctors were not given "enough choices." A study three months ago, published in the *Annals of Internal Medicine*, reported 49 percent of 1,650 doctors surveyed supporting government-sponsored national health insurance. But only 16 percent of the physicians favored the government's actually paying for all health care.

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Alternative Views

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Volume 1, Number 9

March 25, 2004

The BU Bioweapons Project: Ground Zero for Boston?

News/commentary by Frank Propp

Anthrax, botulism, plague, smallpox, Ebola, and other deadly diseases are due to arrive in Boston if the proposed Boston University National Biocontainment Lab is constructed. Although it won't be located in our "garden city" of Newton, it won't be far away as the winds blow. This is the first time that a Level 4 Bio Lab will be situated in a densely populated urban area.

Last September, "The National Institute of Allergy and Infectious Diseases (NIAID), a division of the NIH, announced its decision to fund an application by the BU Medical Center (BUMC) to construct a high-security bioterrorism research laboratory in the neighborhood bordering the South End and Roxbury.

This grant will provide up to \$1.6 billion for construction and research." [1] Quite a plum for BU, but what about Greater Boston?

According to the Faculty Minutes of BU's School of Public Health for January 21, 2004, Mark Klempner, Associate Provost for Research, said that the lab will be built with "extensive redundancies and safety features ... there never [has] been an environmental release from a Level 4 biosafety lab in the U.S., after more than 70 years ... no classified research will be carried out ... no bioweapons research will be done there." [2]

A forum held at Brookline High School in February raised serious doubts about these reassurances. Jonathan King

(MIT) spoke about "how such facilities pose a significant health danger to their host communities and do more to undermine national security than to improve it." Sheldon Krinsky (Tufts) talked about the lack of community participation in selecting the site, and Patricia Hynes (BU) addressed the environmental injustice in planning this lab near Roxbury. [3]

Boston University responded with a presentation at Faneuil Hall in mid-February. Seeking to correct what it saw as misinformation and partial information from BU, the Roxbury community group, Alternatives for Community & Environment, put up a web page to counter BU's claims about the lab. The key points are:

(Continued on page 6)

Coup d'état in Haiti

Compiled by Grey Osterud

On February 29, 2004, the government of Haiti, led by Jean-Bertrand Aristide, was overthrown by a coalition of political opposition groups and armed rebels, acting in collaboration with the United States. American, French, and Chilean military forces now patrol the capital and provide security for the coup leaders, while the poor and dispossessed resist the armed rebels who have taken over the country.

So who are Haiti's new rulers? Two major civilian groups united under the Democratic Platform of Civil Society Organizations and Opposition Political Parties: the Group of 184 Civil Society Organizations, mostly elite business organizations led by André Apaid, and the Democratic Convergence, some 200 political and religious nongovernmental organizations led by former Port-au-Prince mayor Evans Paul.

Apaid is the head of Alpha Industries, the largest industrial employer in Haiti. His sweatshops produce textiles and assemble electronic products for U.S. firms, including Sperry/Unisys, IBM, Reming-

ton, and Honeywell. Wages for the 4,000-plus workers are as low as 68 cents a day, although the current minimum wage is about \$1.50 a day. Apaid is notorious for pulling a gun on demonstrators organized by the Batay Ouvriye trade union who tried to picket in front of his plant. His father was a close friend to dictator Jean-Claude "Baby Doc" Duvalier. Apaid himself was born in New York, but claims to be a Haitian citizen, although Haitian law does not allow dual nationality and he has not renounced his U.S. citizenship.

There is no clear division between the civilian opposition, which claims to be

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EDITORS' NOTE

Boston's Proposed Bioweapons Lab, the Coup in Haiti, How to Leave Iraq and Perceived Injustices in the U.S.

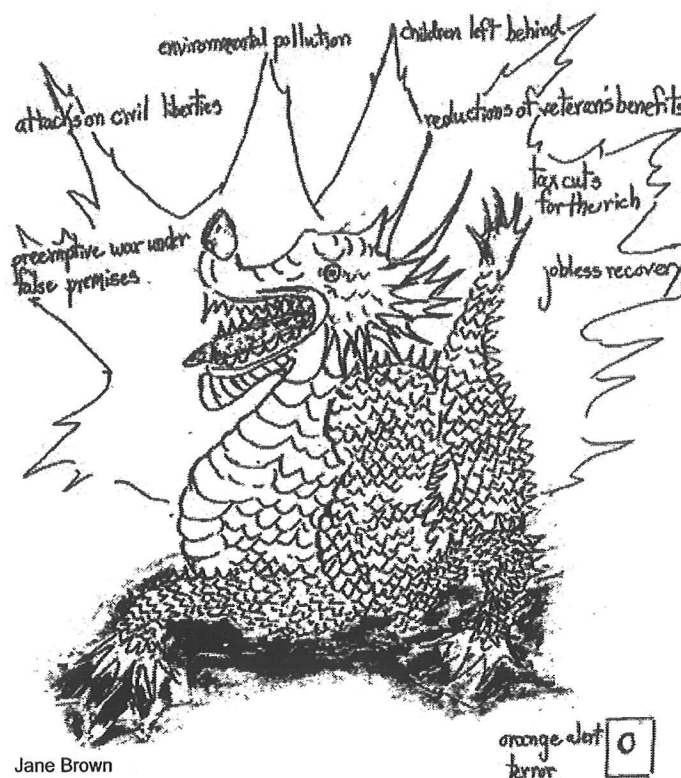
Frank Propp's "The BU Bioweapons Project: Ground Zero for Boston?" makes strong arguments against the proposed construction of the Boston University (BU) National Biocontainment Lab, which would be located in a densely populated neighborhood. BU's Associate Provost for Research has said that the lab will be built with "extensive redundancies and safety features." A Roxbury community group, however, expresses concern about the "biowarfare" implications of the proposed research, and the Council for Responsible Genetics warns that "high-security labs" have been associated with troubling accidents and "missing vials of dangerous organisms." In addition, says Propp, "The U.S. is ignoring the international Biological Weapons Convention, just as it has ignored other treaties."

Events in Haiti which the mainstream media presented as a descent into anarchy and chaos followed by the intervention of an international peacekeeping force are actually a U.S.-backed coup d'état. Grey Osterud compiled information about the coup's leaders, showing the close collaboration between the political opposition and rebel militias and between coup leaders and the overt and covert agents of American policy, including the CIA.

In "For a Complete U.S. Military Withdrawal from Iraq and an Independent UN Peacekeeping and Advisory Role," Richard C. Sterne argues that an occupation characterized by violence, crime associated with massive unemployment, and the dilapidation of key public services has followed a war conducted in violation of the UN charter. Sterne proposes a complete U.S. military withdrawal as soon as the UN, acting independently of the U.S., could send armed forces to Iraq from countries not part of the U.S.-led coalition to provide as much security as possible, and as soon as representative Iraqis, with UN diplomatic aid, could begin to create a sovereign Iraqi government.

Betty Reid Mandell's essay, "You've been well cared for," combines a recounting of personal experience—growing up poor and white on "dry land in the prairies of Colorado"—with observations on the even worse problems faced by others: African Americans, Mexican Americans, and Japanese Americans. Mandell, a lifelong social worker, now volunteers at a Boston welfare department homeless unit. The remark she uses as her title was made to her by an African American woman who'd spoken of herself as "old" at 45. Mandell's spirited comment, "Come on, I'm 78, and . . . I'm still here fighting" elicited the reply, "You've been well cared for. We've been battered around all our lives."

The Real Terror



Reviewing *Perfectly Legal*, a recent book by *New York Times* reporter David Cay Johnston, Diana Sterne begins by wondering, as do many taxpayers, how the government will "pay the bill for Iraq, Social Security, [and] Medicare . . . not to mention the interest on the mounting deficit, with \$1.7 trillion less in revenues between now and 2014." Johnston's answer is that the wealthy are being let off the hook with various tax breaks, and taxpayers "with far more modest incomes will be picking up the tab." Johnston believes our society can't remain healthy if average Americans are robbed of "the opportunity to save so that those with five mansions can own seven, and those with one corporate jet can afford two."

As Jane Brown points out in her cartoon, what Bush is doing to the United States and the world is the real "orange alert."

Finally, this issue of *Alternative Views* includes an updated Primary Watch.

Alternative Views

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OPINION

For a Complete U.S. Military Withdrawal from Iraq and an Independent UN Peacekeeping and Advisory Role

By Richard C. Sterne

The United Nations Charter declares one of the principles of the United Nations to be "undertakings by members not to use force or the threat of force against the territorial integrity or independence of any state." In extreme circumstances, where the Security Council considers that economic measures taken against any state "whose actions constitute a threat to the peace" are or would be inadequate, the Security Council "may take such action by armed forces as may be necessary to maintain or restore peace and security." A majority in the United States Congress bought the Bush administration's argument that Saddam Hussein had weapons of mass destruction constituting a threat that Bush came to call repeatedly "grave and gathering," possibly even the imminent threat of "a mushroom cloud." The UN Security Council, on the other hand, rejected this sales pitch. It refused to endorse the "action by armed forces" in Iraq which with open contempt for the United Nations and its Charter, the Bush administration was determined to take with its "coalition of the willing."

Hans Blix, who since March 2000 had led the UN Monitoring, Verification, and Inspection Commission (UNMOVIC), played a key role in persuading the Security Council to be wary of Colin Powell's argument for war in his February 5, 2003, speech before the Council (which was "almost universally hailed" at the time as "convincing"). In his recent book, *Disarming Iraq*, Blix notes that he wondered "how there could be '100-percent certainty about the existence of weapons of mass destruction but zero percent knowledge about their location.' " He felt "obliged to caution the Council about the evidence coming in from U.S. and other intelligence services." UNMOVIC had not found anything at any of the sites pointed out by U.S. intelligence.[1]

In fact, after September 16, 2002, when Saddam Hussein agreed to let the UNMOVIC inspectors back into Iraq, and before March 17, when Blix was asked "to withdraw the inspectors in preparation for the coalition attack," UNMOVIC's staff of

260 people from sixty countries made 300 inspections at 230 sites. "They turned up some probably illegal missiles, which were destroyed, some old cluster bombs that conceivably could have been loaded with tiny amounts of chemical weapons, a rudimentary experimental drone aircraft that the *New York Times* Baghdad correspondent called 'farcical.' " The United States "desperately seized" on this meager information as evidence of Iraqi 'noncompliance.' "[2]

One of the cruel ironies of the United States occupation of Iraq, which is costing

***The U.S. should withdraw
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begin its work.***

so many Iraqi and American deaths and injuries, is that it has evidently brought into that country the kinds of violent fanatics whom the Bush administration—as one excuse for invading Iraq—had claimed could receive aid, and even WMDs, from Saddam Hussein. Even the CIA had discounted that claim before the war. Now a report published by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, "WMD in Iraq: Evidence and Implications," notes the absence of evidence to support the claim and the existence of "much evidence to counter it," including the enmity between Saddam Hussein and Osama bin Laden. The report "casts doubt on 'the notion that any government would turn over its principal security assets to people it could not control.' "[3]

Now, day after day, while the Bush administration continues to claim success in its project of rebuilding and creating

"democracy" in Iraq, we learn of more violence, more crime—not surprising in a country with extraordinarily high unemployment—and the dilapidation of public services, including medical care. In a *New York Times* report, "Poverty and Turmoil Cripple Iraq Schools, Driving Students from Learning to Labor," Neela Banerjee notes "the poverty and upheaval sown by Saddam Hussein's rule," wars, and economic sanctions, and infers from a UNICEF study conducted "after major combat ended" that "even more children have left school to support their families." In major cities "through the south like Basra and Karbala, 70 to 80 percent of children interviewed by UNICEF were working, and in Najaf, 50 percent of children were not in school." A pilot program started by the American-led occupation in six cities "to draw children back to school . . . serves only 650 children among millions who have dropped out." [4] In addition, the Ayatollah Sistani, the leading cleric among the Shi'a majority in the country, refuses to speak to L. Paul Bremer, the United States Administrator in Iraq.

Given these miserable conditions and the dangerous fragmentation of Iraq, in part along ethnic lines, in part along economic ones, the United States ought to pull ALL its military forces out of Iraq as soon as possible. What should "as soon as possible" mean?

To many opponents of the whole Bush imperial policy, including the strategy of so-called "pre-emptive" war, it means: as soon as orderly withdrawal is logistically possible.

To others, it means: as soon as an independent United Nations peacekeeping force and diplomatic presence, acceptable to widely respected representatives of the Iraqi people (NOT the current Iraqi Governing Council appointed by the United States), can begin its work. The UN would have two tasks: the provision, by armed units from countries that were not part of the U.S.-led coalition, of as much security as possible to all Iraqis; and the provision of help by UN diplomats to Iraqi represen-

(Continued on page 8)

It's Legal, but Is It Right?

A review by Diana Sterne of *Perfectly Legal*, by David Cay Johnston, Penguin, 2003

Many critics have already dispelled the myth that the Bush tax cuts are across the board. The wealthiest Americans will benefit the most from these cuts. The latest report from the Brookings Institution calculates that the percentage increase in after-tax income is 2.2 percent for those with incomes below \$50,000 and 5.7 percent for "high flyers" with incomes above \$1 million.

As Americans prepare their income tax returns for the April 15 deadline (which not everyone takes seriously), many wonder how the government is going to pay the bills for Iraq, Social Security, Medicare, and other costs, not to mention the interest on the mounting deficit, with \$1.7 trillion less in revenues between now and 2014.

In his book *Perfectly Legal*, David Cay Johnston, a *New York Times* reporter who has covered the tax system for nine years, tells us that to answer this question we have to look at the elephant in the living room. That the wealthy are being let off the hook is only part of the story. The more unsavory part of the story is that taxpayers with far more modest incomes will be picking up the tab.

"The major change taking place," Johnston writes, "is a shifting of the burden off the super rich and onto everyone below them. It is a shift that began with the Democrats in 1983 and that has increased dramatically since the Republicans won control of the House in 1995." The "majority of Americans," he says, "are being duped into supplementing the incomes and extravagant lifestyles of the rich and powerful."

One of the ways the tax burden is being redistributed to those below is with the alternative minimum tax (AMT), which Johnston calls the "stealth tax." The dreaded AMT was developed to capture taxes from taxpayers who claimed many deductions. In 2000, about 1.3 million taxpayers paid the AMT. The Bush tax cuts will increase that number to 35.6 million households, many with large families and high health care costs, and collect \$560 billion more from the AMT. The AMT was enacted in 1969 and refined over the years to target the very rich who enjoyed high incomes while paying little in taxes. It was originally intended for only the richest taxpayers, those making the equivalent of

more than \$1 million in 2003. But by 2010, it's estimated that 97 percent of families with two children and incomes between \$75,000 and \$100,000 will be forced off the regular income tax track and onto the alternative minimum tax.

Ironically, one of the families Johnston meets that has dropped into this chute is the Klaassen family of Marquette, Kansas, a family with thirteen children. Dave Klaassen, a lawyer, has a child whose childhood cancer recurred in his teenage years. When the Klaassens, who say they have always been scrupulously honest about their taxes, took exemptions for their children and deductions for their high

"The majority of Americans are being duped into supplementing the incomes and extravagant lifestyles of the rich and powerful."

—David Cay Johnston

health care costs, they triggered the AMT.

Another way the financial burden for the costs of U.S. government is being shifted to wage earners is with the Social Security tax. Social Security was intended to be a "pay-as-you-go" system. In other words, the amount collected was supposed to be equivalent to the amount paid out in benefits. From 1984 to 2002 the government collected \$1.7 trillion more in Social Security taxes than the agency paid out in benefits to retirees, widows and orphans, and those receiving disability payments. The money has been used to cover the run-of-the-mill operating costs of government and make up for the shortfall in tax revenues.

"Deferral, the tax lawyers say, is 90 percent of tax planning," Johnston writes, noting that the typical wage earner not only cannot defer taxes but must overpay their tax bill to keep everything afloat. The typical family overpaid \$16,000 for Social Security in that period, "\$16,000 that each family did not have to spend on improving

their lifestyle or investing for the future."

To consider only the preferential tax cuts for the wealthiest Americans does not take into account that, unlike wage earners, "high flyers" have many "perfectly legal" ways to divert their income from the tax system through tax havens and tax shelters, offshore accounts, deferred compensation, and stock options, not to mention corporate jets.

Corporate jet travel is one of the extravagant executive perks that shareholders and taxpayers subsidize. The true cost of this perk to American workers and investors is hard to discern because it can be kept confidential as "other compensation." In the notorious divorce case of former GE executive Jack Welch, Mrs. Welch estimated the value of using the Boeing jet (for a retired executive) at \$3.5 million per year. The cost of chartering a much smaller jet for a one-way trip from New York to Paris is \$87,000. The executive must only pay income tax on the costs for landing fees and fuel, a fraction of the true cost of operating the jet.

Moving corporate headquarters to tax havens like Bermuda allows companies to siphon off profits there and deduct expenses from their U.S. returns. Tyco estimated it saved an average of \$450 million each year after 1997 when it arranged to make Bermuda its tax headquarters while keeping executive offices in the U.S. Ingersoll-Rand, Cooper Industries, and several Houston companies that drill wells and service the big oil companies have made this move with the assistance of major law firms and accounting firms in the U.S. Just days after the September 11 attacks, the accounting firm Ernst & Young had a webcast extolling the profitability of this strategy. During the webcast, participants agreed that the only downside to the deal was the "patriotism issue." "Is it the right time to be migrating a corporation's headquarters to an offshore location?" the Ernst & Young partner asks, promptly answering her own question by adding "the improvement on earnings is powerful enough that maybe the patriotism issue needs to take a back seat."

Tax enforcers are not only beleaguered by all the games people play on their tax returns, but also by that radical group of

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"You've Been Well Cared For"

By Betty Reid Mandell

I was sitting in the Homeless Unit of the Grove Hall Department of Transitional Assistance (welfare department) chatting with some women. As a member of a welfare rights group, Survivors, Inc., I go to the welfare office to tell people about their rights and to help them get the benefits to which they are entitled. One of the women was living in a homeless shelter in Saugus, a town on the north shore of Massachusetts; the other was applying for shelter. They were ashamed to be here. They said that they had worked and held responsible jobs. Life had dealt them raw blows. One had to leave her job because of an injury to her spine, which required prolonged treatment; she didn't know when she could return to work. The other had various medical problems. She was infuriated because the DTA worker was "jerking her around." Her appointment was for 9 a.m., it was now 11 a.m., and they still hadn't seen her.

These women cared deeply about their children. The woman who lived in Saugus was driving her daughter to Boston every day so the child would not have to switch schools. I told her that a recent federal law requires the home school district to provide transportation from the shelter to the child's school. I pointed to the sign on the wall that told about this and urged her to call the number.

The woman who was being "jerked around" said in a resigned voice, "It's all down hill when you get old. I'm 45 and I don't think things will get any better." I protested, "Come on, I'm 78 and I'm not going down hill. I'm still here fighting." The women were amazed. "You're 78? You've been well cared for. We've been battered around all our lives."

I've been thinking a lot about their statement. These women were implying that I had been treated better in life because I am white, while prejudice and discrimination against African Americans had resulted in their suffering harsher treatment than I had faced. Was that true?

As a child, I didn't feel privileged. My father was one of the last homesteaders to get land from the government, but he got the worst land—dry land in the prairies of

Colorado where it seldom rained and the dust storms were so fierce that you literally couldn't see your hand in front of your face if you were outside and the wind whipped sand through the cracks of the windows and doors. One freezing winter day, the car broke down coming home from the school, which was seven miles away, and we froze our fingers and toes walking two miles home.

My parents lived in constant dread of the bank foreclosing on the mortgage, and one day they held an auction to sell off

*I did get better breaks in
life. . . . When I read the
history of the Homestead Act,
I learned that African
Americans . . . couldn't get
even the poor land that my
father got.*

cattle and machinery so they could pay the mortgage. We were eager to watch the auction, but my parents made us go to school so we would not witness their humiliation.

Still, we kept the farm, and all four of us children went to a public college where the tuition was cheap. My sister and I raised and sold prize 4-H steers and saved the money for college. I pumped gas at a filling station during World War II, helped with bookkeeping at the gas station, typed letters for a local cattle rancher, and had a work-study job and a scholarship to college. I paid for graduate school by art-time secretarial jobs and stints as a group work leader at the YMHA and Community Church in New York City. I didn't mind working, and even enjoyed much of it, but I never felt that I had a privileged life.

Yet, as I thought about it, I did get better breaks in life because of my white skin. When I read the history of the Homestead Act, I learned that African Americans were discriminated against and couldn't

get even the poor land that my father got.

The Mexican American children whose family came to town to pick sugar beets attended my school, but they had to leave when their family moved on to other work after the beets were pulled. We were permanent residents, and I could stay in school.

When I went to Grange Hall dances, I noticed that the two sons in the only African American farm family in our neighborhood stood on the sidelines and never asked any of the white girls to dance. I would have been shocked if they had asked me to dance, but I would have been pleased, too, because they were handsome and I had secretly wanted to get to know them. An unwritten community prejudice had kept us from getting to know one another. That was not privilege for me—that kept me from living as full a life as I could have.

At college I joined a sorority that I later discovered did not allow African Americans to become members. I tried to resign, but was told that no one was allowed to resign. Their racism was mandatory!

The parents of one of my best friends in college were living in a Japanese American concentration camp during World War II. I gave speeches against the injustice, and I knew that my parents were never under suspicion because their skins were white.

I taught at a state college, and since I retired I have lived on a state pension, as well as Social Security. Many African Americans weren't covered by Social Security, which did not cover domestic workers or agricultural workers for many years. Even when they were covered, they often received less money because the work had paid so little.

I have had health problems too, but the state health benefit, combined with Medicare, pays for almost all of my medical care and I can choose any health care provider I wish. I can afford to pay for massages, acupuncture, and weight training classes, and to buy both prescription drugs and herbal medicine. I know that I am privileged in this compared to Medicaid

(Continued on page 8)

BU Bioweapons Project

(Continued from page 1)

"NIH/NIAD is funding the lab ... for research on pathogens that can be used for biowarfare as set forth in NAID's Biodefence Research Agenda, not for research on AIDS/HIV, tuberculosis, or malaria.... Research in the lab will be conducted mostly on Category A agents that can be studied only in BSL4 labs: anthrax, botulism, plague, smallpox, ... Ebola....

"BU will not control the research to be done in the lab and thus cannot promise what research will be done. The NAID Request for Proposals and Applications (RFPA) under which NAID will fund the lab states that, 'Biocontainment facilities must be used for research and research training.... The facility must be utilized for biomedical research purposes as determined by NIAID program needs for at least 20 years....' " [4]

The Council for Responsible Genetics (CRG) is also skeptical about BUMC's claims and has asked BUMC to provide details about its research plans to the surrounding community. According to CRG, "NAID's decision permits the building of a biosafety level 4 lab designed for research on organisms that cause diseases for which there is no known cure.... The U.S. currently has four level 4 labs.... Reports of transit accidents, missing vials of dangerous organisms, failed power and sealing of facilities with duct tape, and explosion of a West Nile package at a Federal Express facility are only some of the breaches associated with high-security labs of which the public has been notified." [5]

But the problem of bioweapons is more serious than "not in my back yard." Out of our fear of terrorists using weapons of mass destruction, the U.S. has embarked on developing the very weapons we fear.

We express concern that other nations are developing weapons of mass destruction, but our country is taking the lead in their development. The U.S. is ignoring the international Biological Weapons Convention (BWC), just as it has ignored other treaties.

The BWC, signed in 1972, was intended to outlaw all biological weapons of mass destruction. It prohibited the development, production, and stockpiling of all biological weapons. Unfortunately, it had few verification provisions and thus has been violated in the past, most notably by the Soviet Union and Iraq. To counter this,

the parties to the original convention began, in 1995, to negotiate the BWC Protocol intended to establish legally binding, multilateral measures to promote compliance. By 2001, a possible consensus text had emerged supported by 50 nations.

This effort ended when U.S. Ambassador, Donald Mahley, appointed by the new Republican administration, stated that "the U.S. has concluded that the current approach to a Protocol to the Biological

SUGGESTIONS FOR ACTION

- * Inform yourself on the issue.
- * Phone your Mayor and/or City Counselor about the danger of a BSL 3 lab in Boston.
- * Contact Senators Kennedy and Kerry about the need for a national debate on the issue and for a multilateral approach to resolving it.
- * Senator Kennedy: 317 Russell Senate Office Bldg., Washington, D.C., phone 202-224-2742, or email kennedy.senate.gov/bandwidth/contact/email.html
- * Senator Kerry: 304 Russell Senate Office Bldg., phone 202-224-2742, or email kerry.senate.gov/bandwidth/contact/email.html

Contacts

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www.justicewithpeace.org

Weapons Convention ... is not, in our view, capable of ... strengthening confidence in compliance with the Biological Weapons Convention.... We will therefore be unable to support the current text, even with changes." [6]

One of the three reasons given for the American refusal to support the Biological Weapons Protocol was that it would endanger our biodefense program. This was a surprise to all concerned, since "the US biodefense program has traditionally been largely unclassified. It is hard to see how such a program could be seriously compromised by visits and investigations, *unless the historical openness of the U.S. biodefense program has changed in the last few years The US rejection of the Protocol raises the possibility that there are new classified biodefense programs that are deemed too sensitive politically or technically for even the limited disclosure that the Protocol required.*" [7]

We should fight not only this attempt to put a bioweapons lab in our own back yard but also the Bush administration's possible violation of the BWC. We should not be embarking on a secretive program to study

the potential utility of biotechnology not only as a defense against possible use by terrorists but also as an offensive weapon of war. We should be seeking public debate in our country and support for a multinational approach to a common concern. If we continue this secrecy and attempt to go it alone, we invite other nations to do the same.

Citizens should seek to ban the development of biological agents of mass destruction in Boston and elsewhere.

NOTES

- [1] "CRG Dismayed by Federal Decision to Fund BU's 1.6 Billion Bioterrorism Lab Proposal," <http://www.gene-watch.org/press/bubiolab-093003.html>.
- [2] Boston University School of Public Health, Faculty Meeting Minutes for Jan. 21, 2004, <http://www.bumc.bu.edu/sphnews/news/FacultyMeetings/January2004.htm>.
- [3] Alisha Lilly Sieminski (alisha@MIT.EDU), posting to BU Bioweapons Lab Forum, Jan. 30, 2004, <http://mailman.mit.edu/pipermail/peace-announce/2004-January/000244.html>.
- [4] "Debunking Boston University's Claims about Its Proposed Bioterrorism Lab," Alternatives for Community & Environment (ACE), based in Roxbury (undated but after Feb. 17, 2004), <http://www.ace-ej.org/Biodebunking.htm> (emphasis added).
- [5] "CRG Dismayed by Federal Decision."
- [6] Ambassador Donald Mahley, Statement by the U.S. to the Ad Hoc Group of Biological Weapons Convention States Parties, Geneva, Switzerland, July 25, 2001, www.state.gov/t/ac/rls/rm/2001/5497.htm (emphasis added).
- [7] Mark Wheels (UCLA Davis) and Malcolm Dando (University of Bradford, England), "On the Brink: Biodefence, Biotechnology and the Future of Weapons Control," *Quarterly Journal of the Harvard Sussex Program on CBW Armament and Arms Limitation*, CBW Conventions Bulletin, Issue 58, Dec. 2002; <http://www.fas.harvard.edu/hsp/bulletin/cbwcb58.pdf>

The War on Terrorism Comes Home: Bioweapons Research in Boston Sunday, April 4

With Eugene Benson and Klare Allen (Alternatives for Community and Environment, Roxbury) and Jonathan King (Professor of Biology, MIT). Come hear why Roxbury residents, the workers at the Boston Medical Center and many prominent scientists oppose the lab and how we in Newton may be affected by the research conducted there. Time and place to be announced. For more information, go to www.newtondialog.org (Upcoming Events) or bluebeard.bu.edu/biolabs/.

Coup d'état in Haiti

(Continued from page 1)

non-violent, and the paramilitary, which carried out the coup d'état. The Democratic Platform collaborated with armed rebels whose leaders include members of the 1991 military coup against Aristide, the covert death squads, and the armed forces and police who held power under the Duvalier dictatorships.

The self-proclaimed leader of the military wing of the coup is Guy Philippe, a former member of the Haitian Armed Forces and Police Chief. Before the first coup, Philippe was trained by U.S. Special Forces in Ecuador, together with a dozen other Haitian army officers. The two other rebel commanders, Emmanuel Constant (alias "Toto") and Louis Jodel Chamblain, are former Ton-Ton Macoute (the paramilitary that backed the Duvalier dictatorships) and founders of FRAPH, the Front for the Advancement of Progress of the Haitian People (Le Front pour l'avancement et le progrès d'Haiti). When pronounced in French, FRAPH means "to strike."

The destabilization and overthrow of the popular government was carried out with the guidance and support of the CIA and other arms of U.S. foreign policy. The CIA trained and supported FRAPH. The Democratic Platform is supported by the International Republican Institute, an arm of the National Endowment for Democracy, which is funded by Congress to perform political functions that the CIA is prohibited from undertaking. The two American agencies work in close coordination, just as the armed rebels and the political opposition do in Haiti.

Jodel Chamblain was a prominent leader of the death squads which repressed the opposition during the country's 30-year Duvalier dictatorship and terrorized Haiti following the CIA-sponsored 1991 military coup against the democratically elected government of Aristide, carrying out political assassinations and mass murders of civilians—most notoriously, the April 1994 "Raboteau massacre."

Emmanuel Constant confirmed in an interview on CBS 60 Minutes in 1995 that the CIA paid him about \$700 a month and that he created FRAPH while on the CIA payroll. According to Constant, the FRAPH was formed "with en-

couragement and financial backing from the U.S. Defense Intelligence Agency and the CIA." The UN Human Rights Commission confirmed this report in 1996.

In sum, the forcible overthrow of the democratically elected government in Haiti was carried out by a coalition of armed groups and corporate interests, with the covert guidance of the CIA and the overt support of U.S. agencies supporting "democratization."

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Paul DeRienzo, <http://globalresearch.ca/articles/RIE402A.html>

International Republican Institute, <http://www.iri.org/history.asp>

Miami Herald, 1 Aug. 2001

St. Petersburg Times, Florida, 1 Sept. 2002

Jim Lobe, Institute for Policy Studies, 11 Oct. 1996
Washington Post, 21 Sept. 1991

For outstanding coverage of the coup in Haiti and other international events, tune in to the *Democracy Now* program on cable channel 10 (Comcast or RCN), 8:00-9:00 a.m., or WZBC (90.3 MHz), noon-1:00 p.m.

Background on Haiti

Haiti, a former French colony, shares the Caribbean island of Hispaniola with the Dominican Republic, a former Spanish colony. U.S. opposition to democratic developments in Haiti has a long history. Haiti was the first nation in the hemisphere to abolish slavery after a popular uprising and form an independent nation led by persons of African descent. The Haitian Revolution of 1798-1804, led by Toussaint l'Ouverture, struck terror into the hearts of white slaveholders and inspired generations of African American abolitionists. U.S. military intervention there also has a long history. The U.S. invaded Haiti (along with Cuba) in 1915 and occupied it until 1934. The U.S. supported the Duvaliers, "Papa Doc" and "Baby Doc," who imposed a reign of terror on Haiti until the ouster of "Baby Doc" by a popular movement led by the poor. The democratically elected government of Jean-Bertrand Aristide, a Catholic priest, was overthrown by a U.S.-financed coup in 1991, and the military junta ruled until 1994 when the Congressional Black Caucus finally prevailed on the U.S. government to install Aristide in power. But his external support has been lukewarm, and the U.S. finally imposed ruinous international economic sanctions on Haiti. That led to the formation of opposition groups and the return of exiled paramilitaries to the country.

Primary Watch

The winning Democratic nominee needs 2,162 delegates out of a total of 4,322. 3,520 pledged delegates are chosen by state primaries or caucuses; 802 are unelected, unpledged delegates. Dates and number of delegates are subject to change. We will update this list in every issue during the primary season.

Totals as of 3/24/04

	Number
John Kerry	2,113
Dennis Kucinich	15
Al Sharpton	24
* John Edwards	512
* Howard Dean	103
* Wesley Clark	63
* Joseph Lieberman	
* Dick Gephardt	
* Dropped out of race	

Primary Schedule (remaining primaries)

Date	State	Elected Delegates
Apr. 13	Colorado	53
Apr. 17	Virgin Islands	3
Apr. 27	Pennsylvania	151
May 4	Indiana	67
	North Carolina	90
May 11	Nebraska	24
	West Virginia	28
May 18	Arkansas	36
	Kentucky	49
	Oregon	46
June 1	Alabama	54
	South Dakota	14
June 6	Puerto Rico	51
June 8	Montana	15
	New Jersey	107

For U.S. Military Withdrawal from Iraq

(Continued from page 3)

tatives in arranging elections leading to the creation of a sovereign government. Such a government would be free to renounce any agreements previously made with the United States government for the maintenance in Iraq, or the re-entry into Iraq, of any American military forces. Such a government would also be able to renounce all illegal contracts that had been negotiated with Iraqis by the U.S. government.

Let us face reality: the Bush administration will not withdraw all American troops, and it is unlikely that a Kerry administration will do so. But the advocacy of a complete U.S. withdrawal accompanied by an independent UN entry and an

attempt to create a stable society points what may be the only way to avoid chaos, perhaps even genocide.

NOTES

- [1] Hans Blix, *Disarming Iraq*, quoted in Brian Urquhart, "Hidden Truths," *New York Review of Books*, March 25, 2004, pp. 39-40.
- [2] Brian Urquhart, "Hidden Truths," a review of Blix's *Disarming Iraq* and of Lord Hutton's *The Report of the Inquiry into the Circumstances Surrounding the Death of Dr. David Kelly*, *New York Review of Books*, March 25, 2004, pp. 39-40, 42-44.
- [3] "Mr. Smoke and Mirrors," *The Progressive*, March 2004, p. 8.
- [4] Neela Banerjee, "Poverty and Turmoil Cripple Iraq Schools, Driving Students from Learning to Labor," *New York Times*, March 14, 2004, p. 8.

It's Legal, but Is It Right?

(Continued from page 4)

taxpayers known as tax protesters or evaders who simply do not file income tax returns. If they ever do go to court, which is not very often, according to Johnston, they hire lawyers to defend their stance. *The New York Times* published an article in November 2000 based on an interview with Dick Celata of Gloucester, Mass., a businessman who said he had not paid taxes since 1979 on his successful company. In fact, he had recently filed for a refund to collect taxes he had withheld from his employees from 1997 to 1999. The IRS sent him a check for \$217,000 including interest.

Amazingly, IRS agents did not appear at Celata's door after the article was published. Months passed, and then a year. The IRS did eventually send letters to the employees of the business warning them that they were responsible for paying taxes, highlighting another curiosity of tax enforcement: wage earners whose income is reported to the IRS and low-income taxpayers claiming the earned income credit are far more likely than the wealthy to be contacted by the IRS. If your income is less than \$25,000, there is a 1 in 37 chance of being audited. For subchapter S corporations, favored by doctors, lawyers, and other professionals, the odds are 1 in 233.

"Our society cannot remain healthy, with a robust middle class that provides economic and political stability," Johnston concludes, "if we continue to rob average Americans of time and the opportunity to save so that those with five mansions can

own seven, and those with one corporate jet can afford two."

SOURCES

- David Cay Johnston, *Perfectly Legal* (New York: Penguin Group, 2003).
 "Key Points on Making the Bush Tax Cuts Permanent," The Brookings Institution, January 21, 2004 <http://www.brookings.edu/views/op-ed/gale/2004121taxcuts.htm>
Diana Sterne lives in Cape Elizabeth, Maine, and writes about health care and social policy issues.

SUGGESTIONS FOR ACTION

Readers interested in achieving fair, responsible taxation may wish to visit the FITE (Fairness in Taxes for Everyone) Web site: <http://FairnessinTaxes.org>.

—Editors

"You've Been Well Cared For"

(Continued from page 5)

recipients, who have a limited choice of doctors and cannot get all the services they need, and compared to people who work in low-wage jobs that don't provide health insurance.

So, yes, I have been privileged. Those women in the DTA office asked why I came to the office and did this kind of work. I told them that I had been a social work professor at Bridgewater State College, and I believed in not only talking about my knowledge and beliefs but acting on them. They commended me and said that it was good to stay active and involved. "It's sure better than sitting on the couch and clicking the remote."

I agreed. I am privileged to be able to use my knowledge to come to the DTA office and tell a homeless woman that she does not have to drive her child 20 miles to school and back every day and that the school system is breaking the law if they don't pick the child up. I am privileged to know enough to go into a fair hearing with a woman and point out to the worker and the hearing officer that they are breaking the law by cutting off the woman's welfare benefits. I am privileged to help a woman apply for food stamps. And I am privileged to know the brave mothers who come to the DTA and keep their spirits up for the sake of their children.

Betty Reid Mandell is a member of the Board of New Politics, in which her article first appeared, a retired social work professor and a welfare rights activist since the 1960s.

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We oppose unwise, unjust tax cuts and support a just economy that provides support for education, health care and the environment.

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- Join our monthly meetings: usually held at 7:30, second Sunday every month, Eliot Church, 474 Centre Street, Newton Center.
- Commit yourself to working for peace and justice.

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Alternative Views

www.alternative-views.org

Volume 1, Number 10

April 29, 2004

The Coming Draft

By Connor Freff Cochran, AlterNet, Mar. 24, 2004

In 1973, forced conscription ended in favor of an all-volunteer military. As the gap between the capacity of America's armed forces and the demands of current deployment widens, the likelihood of a reinstated draft grows.

Reports were recently circulated that a "special skills" draft was on the table specifically for people skilled in computers and foreign languages. The Selective Service countered the allegations with a statement on their website, stating that the agency is merely fulfilling its role and hasn't ramped up in anticipation of a coming draft: "Selective Service is not getting ready to conduct a draft for the U.S. Armed Forces—either with a special skills or regular draft. Rather, the Agency

remains prepared to manage a draft if and when the President and the Congress so direct. This responsibility has been ongoing since 1980 and is nothing new."

However, the Bush Administration's military goals cannot be met without forced conscription. Consider these facts: Twenty-one of the U.S. Army's 33 regular combat brigades are now on active duty in the "hot" zones of Iraq, Afghanistan, South Korea, and the Balkans. That's 63 percent of the Army's fighting force . . . all without factoring in additional troops stationed in Saudi Arabia, Germany, Britain, Italy, Japan, the Philippines, Puerto Rico, and elsewhere around the globe.

This is a huge overextension. History

has proven that long-term military operations can only be sustained if you have twice as many soldiers waiting in the pipeline as are stationed out in the field. By that rule of thumb, the regular military is now 125,000 soldiers short—a gap the Bush administration has temporarily plugged by calling more than 150,000 Army Reserve and National Guard troops into active service.

There are 135,000 troops stationed in Iraq, just under half of them guardsmen and reservists. But to maintain that number another 22,000 have already been sent there and brought home dead, wounded, or medically unfit for service. Since the invasion of Iraq there have been more

(Continued on page 4)

The Ultimate Betrayal

By Howard Zinn, *The Progressive*, April 2004

I cannot get out of my mind the photo that appeared on the front page of *The New York Times* on December 30 [2003], alongside a story by Jeffrey Gettleman. It showed a young man sitting on a chair facing a class of sixth graders in Blairsville, Pennsylvania. Next to him was a woman—not the teacher of the class, but the young fellow's mother. She was there to help him because he is blind. Jeremy Feldbusch, twenty-four years old, a sergeant in the

Army Rangers, was guarding a dam along the Euphrates River on April 3, 2003, when a shell exploded 100 feet away and shrapnel tore into his face. When he came out of a coma in an Army Medical Center five weeks later, he could not see. Two weeks later, he was awarded a Purple Heart and a Bronze Star, but he still could not see. His father, sitting at his bedside, said: "Maybe God thought you had seen enough killing."

The newspapers on December 30 reported that 477 American GIs had died in the war. But what is not usually reported is that for every death there are four or five men and women seriously wounded. The

term "seriously wounded" does not begin to convey the horror. Sergeant Feldbusch's mother, Charlene Feldbusch, who, along with his father, virtually lived at his bedside for two months, one day saw a young woman soldier crawling past her in the corridor. She had no legs, and her three-year-old son was trailing behind. She started to cry. Later she told Gettleman, "Do you know how many times I walked up and down those hallways and saw those people without arms or legs and thought: Why couldn't this be my son? Why his eyes? George Bush was eager to send young men and women half a world away

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Editors' Note

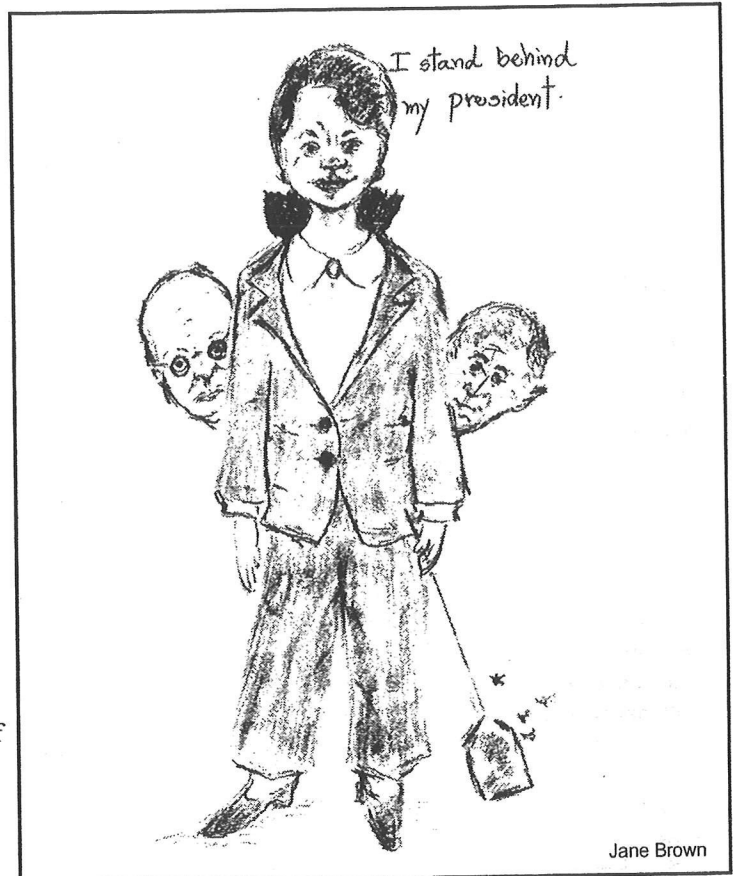
In "The Coming Draft," Connor Freff Cochran cites high U.S. military casualties (injuries and other traumas as well as deaths), "the huge overextension" of the U.S. army's fighting force throughout the world, and a "precipitous drop" in both regular army and National Guard reenlistment rates, as reasons for the growing likelihood that conscription will be reinstated. "Officially," only when the country is at war can a draft occur. But Cochran anticipates that, after his reelection, President Bush will win the support of a Republican-dominated Congress to restore the draft by claiming we're "at war in every respect."

The title of Howard Zinn's "The Ultimate Betrayal" refers to the betrayal of young Americans "sent to war with grandiose promises and lying words about freedom and democracy, about duty and patriotism." Reminding us that for every GI who has died in Iraq, four or five are "seriously wounded"—some of them blinded, as was Sergeant Jeremy Feldbusch on April 3, 2003, by shrapnel from an exploded shell—Zinn's searing article asks us not to forget either these GIs or the deceptive excuses given by our government in advance for the harm bound to come to them.

Grey Osterud's opinion piece, "A Sovereign Iraq," calls for a rapid end to the U.S. military occupation: partly on the grounds of the continued exposure of Iraqi civil servants and civilians to terrorist attacks as a result of our own troops' actions; partly in the light of Iraq's being "a pluri-national state" whose peoples "seek to organize political parties, hammer out programs and platforms, and mobilize the people for the elections in January 2005." Peter Galbraith, former U.S. ambassador to Croatia, is among several experts who are convinced that politics will supersede armed rebellion when foreign troops depart.

"Iraq Lesson" of the Spanish Elections Should Be Learned in the U.S.," by Richard C. Sterne, argues that although countries with popularly elected legislatures generally have opposition parties (or governing ones) opposed to the Iraq war, the United States does not. He asks whether U.S. Democrats can learn a lesson—especially from the recent Spanish elections: the United States should withdraw its own increasingly vulnerable military forces from a chaotic Iraq and leave true peacemaking to UN countries committed to help Iraqis gain real sovereignty.

"Bottom of the Barrel," by George Monbiot, foresees the "end



Jane Brown

of the oil age"—when "extracting what remains" after oil extraction peaks will be "ever more difficult and expensive." Monbiot cites scientists who project the peak year to be between now and 2010. Even using the Department of Energy's most optimistic projection of a peak in 2037, most of us who are "middle-aged" now will see demand grow as supply declines and the "price of oil . . . go through the roof." Seeing the only rational response to the "impending end of the oil age and the menace of global warming" as a redesign of our cities, farming and lives, Monbiot wonders whether human beings can respond in a rational way.

This month's Jane Brown cartoon makes one ask whether a President and Vice-President *should* employ a National Security Advisor as a personal shield.

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In Support of a Sovereign Iraq

by Grey Osterud

Whenever we propose that the U.S. end its military occupation of Iraq, people respond with an anxious question: "Then what?" Americans worry that, as one NDPW member put it, "after we destroy their country, we leave them in chaos." Iraqis have begun a popular uprising against the U.S.-led occupation. Dropping bombs onto mosques and besieging entire towns is not a pacification strategy. This conflict can be resolved only by the withdrawal of coalition troops and the restoration of Iraqi sovereignty. But peace-loving people are right to be concerned if there is a substantial risk that Iraqis might plunge into civil war, suffer from ethnic cleansing, or face a terrorist insurgency.

Notice the *if*. I think that Americans' anxieties about the disastrous consequences of restoring Iraq's sovereignty and

withdrawing occupation forces are exaggerated, based upon unsound assumptions about ethno-religious conflict and misunderstandings of the political situation on the ground in Iraq and Kurdistan.

But then, I rely on sources other than the American media. I am editing a collection titled *The Future of Kurdistan in Iraq*, edited by Brendan O'Leary, John McGarry, and Khaled Salih, which is forthcoming from the University of Pennsylvania Press. All the coeditors have first-hand experience in negotiating plurinational federations in conflict and postconflict situations. Salih is Kurdish, although he had to seek political asylum in Sweden; McGarry and O'Leary are political scientists who worked on the settlement in their native Northern Ireland and were invited to Kurdistan as constitutional advisors. As we correspond via e-mail, I am continually

struck by how different the situation looks from their locations in Erbil, Sulaimania, and Baghdad than what appears in mainstream American newspapers.

The Iraqis and Kurds have already settled most matters involving Kurdish autonomy. Kurdistan (with three former governorates under two administrations, led by the two main Kurdish political parties, the Kurdistan Democratic Party [KDP] and the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan [PUK]) has enjoyed *de facto* autonomy since 1991. After the war over Kuwait, Saddam Hussein gave up trying to divide and rule the Kurds and withdrew his military forces and Ba'athist administrators. Kurdish cultural identity—in language, education and civic affairs—is now secure. Kurdistan has prospered relative to the rest of Iraq, with declining rates of infant and maternal mortality and malnutrition.[1]

(Continued on page 8)

'Iraq Lesson' of the Spanish Elections Should Be Learned in the U.S.

Report/commentary by Richard C. Sterne, with translations from Spanish and French

Murderers! Murderers!" shouted a crowd "gathered under a drizzle outside the U.S. Embassy" in Madrid, reported *New York Times* columnist Nicholas Kristof on April 10, 2004. A week before the new Spanish prime minister, Zapatero, announced—adhering to his campaign promise—that Spanish troops would be withdrawn "as soon as possible" from Iraq.[1] Kristof observed that the kind of anti-Americanism expressed in the crowd's shout "is now widespread around the globe and it will be one of President Bush's most important legacies." With 90 percent of Spaniards opposing the Iraq war, Spanish alienation from the U.S. has been exacerbated, Kristof wrote, by American conservatives' accusations that the recent electoral victory of the antiwar Socialist, Zapatero, was due to Spanish cowardice after the March 11 subway bombings.

Kristof, whose aunt married a Spaniard and whose five cousins born and raised in Madrid voted for Zapatero, said unequivocally that the late "surge of support" for Zapatero was due to "Prime Minister Jose

Maria Aznar's dishonesty in blaming Basque terrorists for the bombing." [2] The same point had been made by the internationally known Spanish novelist and journalist Juan Goytisolo in a post-election interview with the Mexican daily *La Jornada*.

Goytisolo went on to argue that analysis of the Madrid bombings must involve deeper considerations than those that could be given voice during the Aznar regime. He contrasted the absence—widely known before the Iraq War—of any link between "the odious tyrant" Saddam Hussein and Al Qaeda with the historical reality of a link between Hussein's use of poison gas against Iranians during the 1980s and the supplying of that gas by Western countries, "beginning with England and the United States." Goytisolo recalled his stay in Iran after the Iraq-Iran war, when "the hospitals were full of young fellows recuperating from the poison gas released from the Iraq side."

He then cited, among factors creating an atmosphere favorable to Muslim terror-

ist violence, "Europe's silence during the siege of Bosnian Muslims"—who "weren't fundamentalists," but "absolutely secular"—in Sarajevo, "a community that was the victim of a horrific genocide without anyone's opening his mouth." Goytisolo recalled Susan Sontag as one of the few Westerners who'd actually been concerned about the Sarajevo Muslims; she often visited the city during the 1990s. And he remembered seeing, at the Sarajevo airport, Arabs who had come to the city to help the Muslims, who were being slaughtered.

Another factor favoring terrorist attacks like the one on Madrid, Goytisolo asserted, is the Palestine-Israel conflict. "Given a policy like Ariel Sharon's, which rejects international law and practices collective assassination, I don't know what is going to happen." Warning that the Madrid attack could intensify xenophobic attitudes, Goytisolo emphasized that just as it is "one thing to be a Muslim, another to be an Islamist, and still another to be a terrorist," so it is "one thing to be Jewish, another to

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The Coming Draft

(Continued from page 1)

military casualties than in all the years since the end of the Vietnam War combined.

The human well is drying up. Enlistment rates in the regular armed forces and the National Guard have dropped precipitously, and according to a poll conducted by the military newspaper *Stars and Stripes*, a whopping 49 percent of soldiers stationed in Iraq say they don't intend to reenlist—even with the Army offering a \$10,000 bonus.

In January 2004, Vice-President Dick Cheney gave a speech in San Francisco outlining a further expansion of the military. In no uncertain terms he announced that our armed forces would be set up in more overseas bases, so the U.S. could wage war quickly around the globe. "One of the legacies of this administration," he said, "will be some of the most sweeping changes in our military, and our national security strategy as it relates to the military and force structure, and how we're based, and how we used it in the last 50 or 60 years, probably since World War II. I think the changes are that dramatic."

Despite statements to the contrary, quiet preparations for the return of the draft have been under way for some time. The Selective Service System's Annual Performance Plan for Fiscal Year 2004—despite a ton of obfuscatory jargon, acronyms, and bureaucrat-speak—can't quite manage to bury all of its bombshells.

Strategic Objective 1.2 of the 2004 plan commits the Selective Service System (SSS) to being fully operational within 75 days of "an authorized return to conscription." Strategic Objective 1.3 then commits it to "be operationally ready to furnish untrained manpower within DOD timelines." By next year the government intends to turn the ignition key on a mobilization infrastructure of 56 state headquarters, 442 area offices, and 1,980 local boards. There's even a big chunk of funding this year to run what's called an "Area Office Prototype Exercise" which will "test the activation process from SSS Lottery input to the issuance of First Armed Forces Examination Orders."

Strategic Objective 2.2 is all about bumping up the Selective Service System's High School Registrar Program. What's that? It's a plan to put volunteer registrars

No Haven for Draft Dodgers

Dodging the draft will be more difficult than those from the Vietnam War era remember. In December 2001, Canada and the U.S. signed a "Smart Border Declaration" that involves a 30-point plan which includes a "pre-clearance agreement" for people entering and departing each country. Reforms aimed at making the draft more equitable along gender and class lines also eliminate higher education as a shelter. Undergraduate students would only be able to postpone service until the end of their current semester. Seniors would have until the end of the academic year.

The Selective Service Budget Increases

The Pentagon has quietly begun a public campaign to fill all 10,350 draft board positions and 11,070 appeals board slots nationwide. \$28 million has been added to the 2004 Selective Service System (SSS) budget to prepare for a military draft that could start as early as June 15, 2005. See website: http://www.sss.gov/perfplan_fy2004.html to view the SSS Annual Performance Plan-Fiscal Year 2004.

in at least 85% of the nation's high schools, up from 65% in 1998. Consider these the SSS's "troops on the ground," making sure that the smallest possible number of eligible draftees manages to slip through the net. (In the school arena, by the way, the Bush administration has already pulled a fast one. Buried deep in the 670 pages of the No Child Left Behind Act there is a provision which requires that public high schools give military recruiters access to facilities and also contact information for every student—or else face a cutoff of federal aid.)

The 2004 plan commits the SSS to report to the president on March 31st, 2005, that the system is ready for activation with 75 days. If they manage the task, then the first lottery could happen as early as June 15th, 2005.

The job of approving a draft officially belongs to both the President and Congress, working together to pass new legislation, and officially it can only happen if the country is at war. But given the examples of the last three years, these safe-

guards are hard to call firm and reassuring.

First, as far as the Bush administration is concerned we are at war in every respect. On the basis of this position the President has skated around the strict language of the Constitution and launched the invasion of two different countries, despite the fact that only Congress is supposed to have the power to declare war. Second, the White House is supported by Republican majorities in both houses of Congress and on the Supreme Court. While it is certain that any presidential decision to reactivate the draft would be hotly debated in Congress and resisted by a majority of the public, it is by no means clear that it could be effectively blocked—especially with prominent Democrats such as Representative Charlie Rangel and Senator Hillary Clinton on record as supporting the possibility of some kind of conscription.

Of course, the Selective Service System doesn't call it a "draft." In their lexicon of acronyms it's a "Registrant Integrated Processing System": RIPS, for short. The acronym's horrible irony—Rest In Peace, anyone?—seems to have been lost on the bureaucrats.

Connor Freff Cochran is a film producer and former magazine/television journalist. He spent four years as an American on-air correspondent for the BBC. © 2004 Independent Media Institute

TAKE ACTION

Pending legislation in the House and Senate times the program so the draft could begin at early as spring 2005—conveniently just after the 2004 presidential election! But the administration is quietly trying to get these bills passed NOW, so our action is needed immediately. Write your congressional representatives right away.

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Bottom of the Barrel: The World Is Running Out of Oil— So Why Do Politicians Refuse to Talk about It?

67A

By George Monbiot, *The Guardian* (UK), Dec. 2, 2003

The oil industry is buzzing. On Thursday [Nov. 27, 2003], the government approved the development of the biggest deposit discovered in British territory for at least 10 years. Everywhere we are told that this is a "huge" find, which dispels the idea that North Sea oil is in terminal decline. You begin to recognize how serious the human predicament has become when you discover that this "huge" new field will supply the world with oil for five-and-a-quarter days.

Every generation has its taboo, and ours is this: that the resource upon which our lives have been built is running out. We don't talk about it because we cannot imagine it. This is a civilization in denial.

Oil itself won't disappear, but extracting what remains is becoming ever more difficult and expensive. The discovery of new reserves peaked in the 1960s. Every year we use four times as much oil as we find. All the big strikes appear to have been made long ago: the 400m barrels in the new North Sea field would have been considered piffling in the 1970s. Our future supplies depend on the discovery of small new deposits and the better exploitation of big old ones. No one with expertise in the field is in any doubt that the global production of oil will peak before long.

The only question is how long. The most optimistic projections are the ones produced by the U.S. Department of Energy, which claims that this will not take place until 2037. But the U.S. energy information agency has admitted that the government's figures have been fudged: it has based its projections for oil supply on the projections for oil demand, perhaps in order not to sow panic in the financial markets.

Other analysts are less sanguine. The petroleum geologist Colin Campbell calculates that global extraction will peak before 2010. In August, the geophysicist Kenneth Deffeyes told *New Scientist* that he was "99% confident" that the date of maximum global production will be 2004. Even if the optimists are correct, we will be scraping the oil barrel within the lifetimes of most of those who are middle-aged today.

The supply of oil will decline, but

global demand will not. Today we will burn 76m barrels; by 2020 we will be using 112m barrels a day, after which projected demand accelerates. If supply declines and demand grows, we soon encounter something with which the people of the advanced industrial economies are unfamiliar: shortage. The price of oil will go through the roof.

As the price rises, the sectors which are now almost wholly dependent on crude oil—principally transport and farming—will be forced to contract. Given that climate change caused by burning oil is cook-

***The resource upon which our
lives have been built is
running out. We don't talk
about it because we cannot
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civilization in denial.***

ing the planet, this might appear to be a good thing. The problem is that our lives have become hard-wired to the oil economy. Our sprawling suburbs are impossible to service without cars. High oil prices mean high food prices: much of the world's growing population will go hungry. These problems will be exacerbated by the direct connection between the price of oil and the rate of unemployment. The last five recessions in the U.S. were all preceded by a rise in the oil price.

Oil, of course, is not the only fuel on which vehicles can run. There are plenty of possible substitutes, but none of them is likely to be anywhere near as cheap as crude is today. Petroleum can be extracted from tar sands and oil shale, but in most cases the process uses almost as much energy as it liberates, while creating great mountains and lakes of toxic waste. Natural gas is a better option, but switching from oil to gas propulsion would require a vast and staggeringly expensive new fuel infrastructure. Gas, of course, is subject to

the same constraints as oil: at current rates of use, the world has about 50 years' supply, but if gas were to take the place of oil its life would be much shorter.

Vehicles could be run from fuel cells powered by hydrogen, which is produced by the electrolysis of water. But the electricity which produces the hydrogen has to come from somewhere. To fill all the cars in the U.S. would require four times the current capacity of the national grid. Coal burning is filthy, nuclear energy is expensive and lethal. Running the world's cars from wind or solar power would require a greater investment than any civilization has ever made before. New studies suggest that leaking hydrogen could damage the ozone layer and exacerbate global warming.

Turning crops into diesel or methanol is just about viable in terms of recoverable energy, but it means using the land on which food is now grown for fuel. Rough calculations suggest that running the United Kingdom's cars on rapeseed oil would require an area of arable fields the size of England.

There is one possible solution which no one writing about the impending oil crisis seems to have noticed: a technique with which the British and Australian governments are currently experimenting, called underground coal gasification. This is a fancy term for setting light to coal seams which are too deep or too expensive to mine, and catching the gas which emerges. It's a hideous prospect, as it means that several trillion tons of carbon which was otherwise impossible to exploit becomes available, with the likely result that global warming will eliminate life on Earth.

We seem, in other words, to be in trouble. Either we lay hands on every available source of fossil fuel, in which case we fry the planet and civilization collapses, or we run out, and civilization collapses.

The only rational response to both the impending end of the oil age and the menace of global warming is to redesign our cities, our farming and our lives. But this cannot happen without massive political pressure, and our problem is that no one ever rioted for austerity. People tend to

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The Ultimate Betrayal

(Continued from page 1)

into the heart of another nation. And even though they have fearsome weapons, they are still vulnerable to guerrilla attacks that have left so many of them blinded and crippled. Is this not the ultimate betrayal of our young by our government?"

Their families very often understand this before their sons and daughters do and remonstrate with them before they go off. Ruth Aitken told her son, an Army captain, that this was a war for oil, while he insisted he was protecting the country from terrorists. He was killed on April 4, 2003, in a battle around Baghdad airport. "He was doing his job," his mother said. "But it makes me mad that this whole war was sold to the American public and to the soldiers as something it wasn't." One bereaved father, Fernando Suarez de Solar of Escondido, California, told reporters that his son, a lance corporal in the Marines, had died for "Bush's oil." Another father in Baltimore, whose son, Kendall Waters-Bey, a staff sergeant in the Marine Corps, was killed, held up a photo of his son for the news cameras, and said: "President Bush, you took my only son away from me."

Of course, the injured soldiers and their families are not the only ones who have been betrayed. The Iraqi people, promised freedom from tyranny, saw their country, already devastated by two wars and twelve years of sanctions, attacked by the most powerful military machine in history. The Pentagon proudly announced a campaign of "shock and awe," which left 10,000 or more Iraqi men, women and children dead, and many thousands more maimed.

The list of betrayals is long. This government has betrayed the hopes of the world for peace. After fifty million died in the Second World War, the United Nations was set up, as its Charter promised, "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war." The people of the United States have been betrayed, because with the end of the Cold War, when the "threat of communism" was no longer able to justify the stealing of trillions of the public's tax dollars for the military budget, that theft of the national wealth continues. It continues at the expense of the sick, the children, the elderly, the homeless and the unemployed, wiping out the expectations after the fall of the Soviet Union that there would be a "peace dividend" to bring pros-

perity to all. And we come back to the ultimate betrayal, the betrayal of the young, sent to war with grandiose promises and lying words about freedom and democracy, about duty and patriotism. We are not historically literate enough to remember that these promises, those lies, started far back in the country's past. . . .

The United States was proud that, although perhaps 100,000 Iraqis had died in the Gulf War of 1991, there were only 148 American battle casualties. What has been concealed from the public is that 206,000 veterans of that war filed claims with the Veterans Administration for injuries and illnesses. In the years since that war, 8,300 veterans have died, and 160,000 claims for disability have been recognized by the VA.

The betrayal of GIs and veterans continues in the so-called war on terrorism. The promises that the U.S. military would be greeted with flowers as liberators have disintegrated as soldiers die almost every day in a deadly guerilla war which tells the GIs they are not wanted in Iraq. Those who come back alive, but blinded or without arms or legs, find that the Bush Administration is cutting funds for veterans. Bush's State of the Union address, while going through the usual motions of thanking those serving in Iraq, continued his policy of ignoring the thousands who have come back wounded. Bush's quick Thanksgiving visit to Iraq, much ballyhooed in the press, was seen differently by an army nurse in Landstuhl, Germany, where casualties from the war are treated. She sent an email: "My 'Bush Thanksgiving' was a little different. I spent it at the hospital taking care of a young West Point lieutenant wounded in Iraq. . . . When he pressed his fists into his eyes and rocked his head back and forth he looked like a little boy. They all do, all nineteen in the ward that day, some missing limbs, eyes, or worse. . . . It's too bad Bush didn't add us to his holiday agenda. The men said the same, but you'll never read that in the paper."

As for Jeremy Feldbusch, blinded in the war, his hometown of Blairsville, an old coal mining town of 3,600, held a parade for him, and the mayor honored him. I thought of the blinded, armless, legless soldier in Dalton Trumbo's novel *Johnny Got His Gun*, who, lying on his hospital cot, unable to speak or hear, remembers when his hometown gave him a send-off,

with speeches about fighting for liberty and democracy. He finally learns how to communicate, by tapping Morse code letters with his head, and asks the authorities to take him to schoolrooms everywhere, to show the children what war is like. But they do not respond. "In one terrible moment he saw the whole thing," Trumbo writes. "They wanted only to forget him." In a sense, the novel was asking, and now the returned veterans are asking, that we don't forget.

Howard Zinn, author of *A People's History of the United States*, is a columnist for *The Progressive*. This article has been abridged from the April 2004 issue. The complete article can be found in the Web edition of *Alternative Views* (www.alternative-views.org).

Bottom of the Barrel

(Continued from page 5)

take to the streets because they want to consume more, not less. Given a choice between a new set of matching tableware and the survival of humanity, I suspect that most people would choose the tableware.

In view of all this, the notion that the war with Iraq had nothing to do with oil is simply preposterous. The U.S. attacked Iraq (which appears to have had no weapons of mass destruction and was not threatening other nations), rather than North Korea (which is actively developing a nuclear weapons program and boasting of its intentions to blow everyone else to kingdom come) because Iraq had something it wanted. In one respect alone, Bush and Blair have been making plans for the day when oil production peaks, by seeking to secure the reserves of other nations.

I refuse to believe that there is not a better means of averting disaster than this. I refuse to believe that human beings are collectively incapable of making rational decisions. But I am beginning to wonder what the basis of my belief might be.

Guardian Unlimited © Guardian Newspapers Limited 2003, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/comment/story/0,3604,1097622,00.html>

Editors' Note: The *Oil and Gas Journal* showed that world production was 67,003.00 barrels a day in 2000; 66,599,000 in 2001; and 65,946,000 in 2002. Unless this is a temporary drop, the oil production peak was reached in 2000.

'Iraq Lesson' of the Spanish Elections

(Continued from page 3)

be an Israeli, and still another to be an ultra-religious, colonial supporter of Sharon." [3]

Such sensible distinctions have not been fostered by the Israeli military's killings of Sheik Ahmed Yassin, "founder and spiritual leader of Hamas," as the *New York Times* described him under the March 23 headline "Wave of Anger Rolls Across Arab World," and then in mid-April of his successor as Hamas leader, Abdel Aziz Rantisi. Amid demonstrations demanding revenge and condemnations of the Sheik's assassination by the leaders of Arab states came the chastisement of Israel by the Ayatollah al-Sistani, "who enjoys vast respect among Iraq's majority Shi'ites"; significantly, he called for "Arab and Islamic unity and liberation of the usurped land." [4] In this combustible atmosphere, the American Administrator in Iraq, L. Paul Bremer, performed an incendiary act by banning the newspaper published by supporters of the radical Shi'ite cleric Moktada al-Sadr, a hero to wretchedly poor inhabitants of the Baghdad neighborhood called "Sadr City." The Shi'a proceeded to lead early April uprisings in six Iraqi cities including Baghdad, while Sunnis in Fallujah resisted the American military siege after the killing and mutilations of the corpses of four American private security contractors, in a "drumbeat of warfare across central and southern Iraq that has created the worst crisis of the American occupation." [5]

One consequence of the Shi'a uprising, according to the French daily *Libération*, was that "twenty Iraqis and four Salvadorans died and at least 200 other persons were wounded . . . in clashes between coalition soldiers allied with Iraqi police against partisans of . . . Moktada al-Sadr, who were marching toward a [Spanish/Salvadoran] military base in Kufa near Najaf." The *Libération* report said that in addition to shouting their anger against the closing of al-Sadr's newspaper, demonstrators—including members of al-Sadr's militia—were protesting the arrest of a colleague of al-Sadr, Moustafa Yacoubi, who they claimed had been interrogated by Spanish soldiers at Najaf. The Spaniards denied having arrested the man, but implied that

other coalition forces might have apprehended him. [6]

In addition to the Spanish and Salvadoran troops, other non-American coalition forces came under either direct military pressure during the first week of April, or political pressure in the countries that had sent them to Iraq. Reuters reported on April 7 the death of one Ukrainian soldier in battle with al-Sadr's followers and the withdrawal of Ukrainian troops from Kut "after coming under fierce attack." The Reuters dispatch also noted that Bulgaria had asked the United States "to reinforce its 450-strong garrison in the southern city of Karbala"; that Kazakhstan said it would pull out its "roughly 30-strong contingent" in May; that South Korea, "with 600 military engineers and medics in Iraq, had ordered its personnel to suspend activities outside military camps"; that Poland "has ruled out reinforcing its 2,400 troops and is pressing for NATO to take command of the central-south division it leads"; and that Italian Prime Minister Berlusconi, "whose support for Bush ahead of the Iraq war last year went against the grain of popular opinion," was under strong domestic pressure to withdraw Italian forces. [7]

On March 23, even before the Shi'a insurrection, the *Guardian* reported under the headline "Koizumi Haunted by Aznar's Fate" that Japan's main opposition party, like the Spanish Socialists, "opposed their country's role in President Bush's 'coalition of the willing.'" On the first anniversary of the Iraq conflict, "tens of thousands of people . . . braved the cold to join antiwar protests." [8] On April 8, three Japanese civilians—two aid workers and a journalist who had been taken hostage in Iraq by a group called the "Mujahadeen brigades"—appeared "in a video broadcast on Al Jazeera news channel blindfolded, while their black-garbed captors threatened them with guns, knives and swords." The kidnapers, after threatening to kill the three if Japan did not withdraw its 550 troops from Iraq in three days, [9] eventually released them. But there have been reports of other kidnappings, including that of an American soldier held by masked gunmen who "have offered to exchange him for imprisoned Iraqi fighters, claiming they had more hostages." [10]

The most striking information about a

long-standing United States ally comes from Australia, where a 2003 Pew survey had showed that 83 percent "trusted the United States to keep its commitment to defend Australia if it were to come under attack." The new Labour Party leader, Mark Latham, who had vowed to "bring home Australia's troops in Iraq by Christmas," was doing better in polls than John Howard, the conservative prime minister whose support for Bush's Iraq war has been "energetic." [11] The newspaper *The Australian* had earlier described Latham as firmly convinced that the Iraq war "has accentuated rather than alleviated the global threat posed by Islamic terror groups." [12]

Just as, according to *Le Monde* on April 19, there has been "quasi-unanimous condemnation" of the killing of the Hamas leader Rantisi, "except in the United States," [13] the United States is also an exception to the rule that countries with popularly elected legislatures have opposition parties, if not governing ones, that oppose the Iraq war. Can the Democrats learn, and say, that the United States must end its own terrifying tactics in Iraq, withdraw its increasingly vulnerable military forces, and leave true peacemaking to United Nations countries committed to help Iraqis gain real sovereignty?

NOTES

- [1] *New York Times*, April 18, 2004.
- [2] *New York Times*, April 10, 2004.
- [3] *La Jornada*, Mar. 24, 2004, www.jornada.unam.mx/02an1cul.php?origen=index&fly=1.
- [4] *New York Times*, Mar. 23, 2004.
- [5] "Fighting Halts Briefly in Falluja; U.S. Convoy Hit Near Baghdad," *New York Times*, April 4, 2004.
- [6] *Libération*, April 4, 2004, www.liberation.fr/page.php?Article=191661.
- [7] [www.us.f205@mail.yahoo.com/ym/ShowLetter?box=Inbox&MsgId=214923628095262315811002404959294521909806923&bodyPart=2&tnf=&YY=59935&order=down&sort=date&pos=1](mailto:us.f205@mail.yahoo.com/ym/ShowLetter?box=Inbox&MsgId=214923628095262315811002404959294521909806923&bodyPart=2&tnf=&YY=59935&order=down&sort=date&pos=1)
- [8] www.guardian.co.uk/elsewhere/journalist/story/0,7792/1176/49,00.html.
- [9] *New York Times*, April 9, 2004.
- [10] AP video, April 17, 2004.
- [11] *New York Times*, 7 April 7, 2004.
- [12] *The Australian*, Mar. 25, 2004, www.theaustralian.news.com.au/printpage/0,5942,9065982,00.html
- [13] www.lemonde.fr/web/sequence/0,2-3210,1-0,0.html.

In Support of a Sovereign Iraq

(Continued from page 3)

The Kurds did not seize on the moment of regime change in Baghdad to seek national independence, a move that would arouse opposition both from other nationalities within Iraq and from neighboring states, such as Turkey, with Kurdish minority populations. The dream of independence remains popular among Kurdish people. But the leadership, with a realism born of their experience during a decade of self-government, moved instead toward power-sharing at the center. The transitional administrative law (TAL), which constitutes Iraq's interim constitution, outlines a federal state with distributed powers; it acknowledges Kurdistan's autonomy, but also establishes a strong role for national and religious minorities in the federal government. The Kurds and Arabs of Iraq are aware that a highly decentralized political system might fracture, so all groups and regions must have a stake in the state. Kurdistan has proposed a bill of rights integral to the new constitution that guarantees freedom for all minority groups: Turkmen, Yazidis, Feylis, Chaldeans and Assyrians as well as Shi'a and Sunni Muslims, Christians, Jews and atheists. Iraq is indeed a pluri-national state, and the Kurds have forced other Iraqis to recognize that fact in their political arrangements. [2]

The situation in the central and southern portions of Iraq is more fluid, since those regions were ruled by Saddam and the Ba'athists. But what order does exist there has, on the ground, been maintained by Iraqis themselves. While the U.S.-sponsored police are venal and impotent, organized militias linked to various leaders control their neighborhoods. There is bound to be some jockeying for power, although most ayatollahs wisely prefer to remain behind the scenes.

Shi'a and Sunni groups have now united across religious, ethnic, and geographic lines to resist the occupation and the governing council it appointed. In many Iraqis' eyes, having outsiders depose Saddam Hussein merely replaced one authoritarian regime with another. Only popular uprisings create democracies where tyrants have ruled. Experts on the scene—including Peter Galbraith, U.S. Ambassador to Croatia and special envoy to the Iraqi Governing Council (IGC)—are

convinced that this rebellion will turn from armed resistance to the political process when foreign troops depart.[3] The peoples of Iraq are acutely aware of the appalling human toll of Saddam's rule, the disastrous wars he provoked and the awful U.S.-led invasion and occupation. They long for the freedom to determine their own future. They seek to organize political parties, hammer out programs and platforms, and mobilize the people for the elections in January 2005.

In the coming negotiations for a permanent constitution, the Shi'a, who form about 60 percent of the population of Iraq but were not proportionally represented in the government, will push for immediate elections, a centralized state, and majoritarian rule. Their viewpoint provides an essential counterbalance to that of the Kurds, fulfilling Madison's requirements for a democratic republic that protects the rights of minorities. The TAL enshrines consensual as well as majoritarian principles, and enforcement mechanisms for the bill of rights are already in place. To elect an executive and pass legislation, coalitions must be formed across regional, ethnic, and religious lines, which crosscut one another in Iraq.

So, what is left for the Iraqis to fight about among themselves? Oil, of course—the underlying reason for this war. The oil-rich region around Kirkuk remains a disputed territory. Kirkuk was predominantly Kurdish, with a significant Turkmen presence, until Saddam's "Arabization" campaign evicted Kurdish families and

forced Sunni Arabs to move there. The silver lining in this cloud is that the Kirkuk area is now almost evenly balanced between Kurds and Arabs. They share political power, and they are likely to agree that oil revenues be shared across Iraq.

Terrorism is another matter entirely. The so-called "war on terror" has not been served by this military adventure. The occupation has made Iraq into ground zero for Al Qaeda and similar groups bent on destroying emerging secular, democratic states in the region. We have an obligation to protect Iraqis by withdrawing our military forces, which turn their civil servants and civilians into terrorist targets. We must not lose perspective in the face of a popular rebellion against U.S. military domination. It's time to restore sovereignty to Iraq and to allow its peoples to determine their own collective future.

NOTES

- [1] See the UNICEF report "The Situation of Children in Northern Iraq: An Assessment based on the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child," 2002, and compare with "Iraq: The Big Picture," UNICEF, 2003.
- [2] For the full text of the interim constitution, see the Governing Council of Iraq, "Law of Administration for the State of Iraq for the Transitional Period (Transitional Law), Baghdad, Governing Council of Iraq and Coalition Provisional Authority, <http://www.cpa-iraq.org/government/TAL.html>.
- [3] Peter W. Galbraith, "Afterword," in *The Future of Kurdistan in Iraq*, ed. Brendan O'Leary, John McGarry, and Khaled Salih, forthcoming from the University of Pennsylvania Press.

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Alternative Views

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Commentary

Who is Responsible for Torture?

by Richard C. Sterne

The torture of prisoners by members of the United States military—notably at Abu Ghraib, where innumerable Iraqis had been tortured under Saddam Hussein's regime, but at other prisons as well—violates the international Convention Against Torture, written in 1984 and signed by the United States in 1994. This article argues that American treatment of detainees in Iraq meets the convention's definition of torture; examines the available evidence regarding how high in the chain of military command responsibility for the use of torture extends; and calls for a thorough investigation by a special congressional committee, with subpoena powers, to determine whether, as Seymour M. Hersh claims,

Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld approved "a highly secret operation" that "encouraged physical coercion and sexual humiliation [that is, torture] of Iraqi prisoners in an effort to generate more intelligence about the growing insurgency in Iraq" and whether, if such an operation has existed, National Security Advisor Condoleezza Rice, Vice-President Dick Cheney, and/or President Bush was aware of it and, if so, at what point.

Part I, Article 1 of the Convention Against Torture, as published by the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights of the United Nations, reads: "For the purpose of this Convention, torture means any act by which severe pain or suf-

fering, whether physical or mental, is intentionally inflicted on a person for such purposes as obtaining from him or a third person information or a confession, punishing him for an act he or a third person is committed or is suspected of having committed, or intimidating or coercing him or a third person, or for any reason based on discrimination of any kind, when such pain or suffering is inflicted by or at the instigation of or with the consent or acquiescence of a public official or other persons acting in an official capacity. It does not include pain or suffering arising only from, inherent in or incidental to lawful sanctions." [1]

The convention's definition of torture

(Continued on page 4)

Toward the Petro-Apocalypse

By Yves Cochet, *Le Monde* (Paris) March 31, 2004

In a very few years, the global production of conventional oil will fall, while the global demand continues to rise. The shock resulting from this structural oil famine is inevitable, given the dependence of our economies on cheap oil and our inability to wean ourselves from oil in the short time remaining. We can soften the shock, but only if we realize how imminent this crisis is, immediately mobilize our entire societies, and take drastic steps in every sector. The alternative is chaos.

The American geologist, King Hub-

bert, predicted in 1956 that U.S. domestic oil production would peak in 1970. The peak occurred exactly as predicted. Transposing Hubbert's approach to other countries has given similarly accurate results. At present, the production of every giant oilfield—and only the giant ones matter—is in decline, except in the "black triangle" of Iraq-Iran-Saudi Arabia. The "Hubbert's Peak" of the oil-producing Middle East should come around 2010, depending on how rapidly Iraqi production recovers and how quickly demand rises in China.

The first economic sectors to be deeply affected by the steady rise in the price of crude oil will be aviation and agriculture, since the prices of jet fuel, ni-

trogenous fertilizer, and diesel fuel are directly linked to the price of crude oil. Stabilizing policies might be used to lower taxes on oil as prices rise. But ground transport, tourism, the petrochemical industry, and the automotive industry will soon feel the depressive effects of oil depletion. No one knows how deep and broad a recession will result, but the blindness of politicians and the panicked overreaction of markets make us fear the worst.

The unavoidable end of cheap oil is being universally ignored, denied, or underestimated. Few realize exactly how close we are to this catastrophe and how great its consequences will be. Michael

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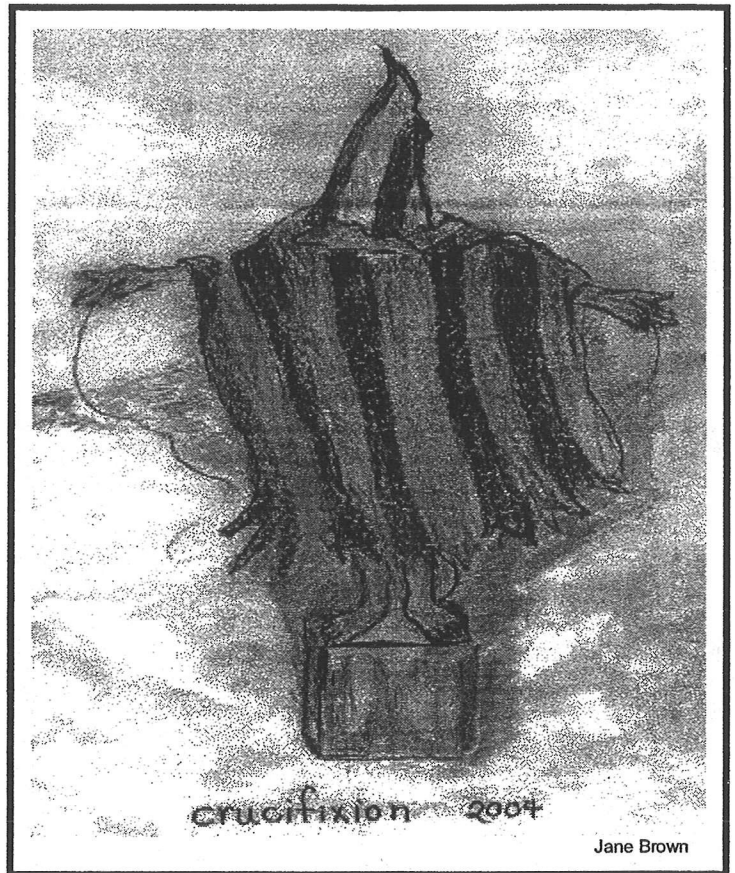
Editors' Note

As casualties of war continue to mount and resistance to occupation intensifies in Iraq, American public opinion is finally shifting toward positions that Newton Dialogues on Peace and War has articulated for the past year. Among other positive developments, we note the U.S. military pullback from Fallujah and the *de facto* cession of control on the ground to organized Iraqis. Yet, the sovereignty that President Bush says Iraqis will attain on July 1st is far from the "full" self-determination they deserve, and the "international" security force we are desperately trying to constitute will not be under the command of Iraqis, or even our "coalition partners." Peace-loving people should continue to put pressure on our public officials to end the occupation.

In "Who is responsible for torture?" Richard Sterne of NDPW asks that high U.S. government officials be called to account for the illegal and immoral practices revealed at Abu Ghraib. Summarizing the evidence of abuse that has come to light recently, his article follows the policies permitting torture all the way up the chain of command.

"Toward the Petro-Apocalypse," by Yves Cochet, continues our series on the oil crisis. The recent sharp rise in the price of gasoline is only one sign of the inevitable difficulties to come as the world faces an absolute shortage of oil. The U.S. seizure of control over petroleum resources in Iraq—as in Saudi Arabia, Venezuela, and Colombia—will not solve this problem; it only delays the crisis and increases its ultimate cost. But, addressing the situation by conserving fuel and developing alternative energy sources will benefit both the environment and the economy. Cochet suggests measures that will save the earth and sustain an acceptable standard of living.

The "war on terror" and the "war on drugs" are masks for the military imposition of political control around the globe. While Americans are preoccupied with the Middle East, the U.S. continues propping up reactionary regimes in Latin America. Kathy Knight, a Newton resident who traveled to Colombia to witness the effects of American policies there, reports on the human and environmental devastation wrought by drug interdiction and counterinsurgency actions on the landless and impoverished peasants of the Amazon region.



NDPW member Jerry Manning, who recently returned from Germany, shares his personal reflections on his conversations with Europeans about the international situation. He observed the striking difference between CNN's European broadcasts and those intended for the American market, which was pointed out in "The Unseen War" by Michael Massing, summarized in the first issue of *AV* (May 2003). More Europeans than Americans have learned that military force is not an effective way of solving international problems.

The editorial cartoon gives a name to torture at Abu Ghraib. Finally, in the spirit of laughter at double-speak, we offer a cartoon revealing the shifting conceptual and rhetorical sands on which American policy has been launched.

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PERSONAL REFLECTION

Impressions

By Gerald Manning

Dear Friends,

I am back from my trip to Germany, and I want to share some impressions and reflections with you before they fade into the background of vague memory.

I was unprepared on my return for the visually stark confirmation of the common but abstract knowledge that the peoples of many European countries, Germany among them, are more concentrated in the center of the economic spectrum than those in the United States. I had become unaccustomed to the sight of poor people, and the reappearance of down-and-out looking Americans was unsettling. I was shocked when I went to the bus stop at the airport and encountered a disheveled man wearing a shirt made out of an American flag.

In Germany, I saw not a single flag, not even on government buildings. This impression was confirmed by conversations with German people, who pointed out that public expressions of patriotism are severely frowned upon and that nobody would ever think of saying that he or she is "proud to be a German." Of course, given Germany's history, it is understandable that displays of nationalistic feeling are discouraged. But then again, given American history (genocide of Native Americans, slavery, Vietnam, George Bush), perhaps expressions of pride should also be muted here.

I had several political discussions with university people. They were consistent with the polls I have seen indicating that Europeans and Americans view the world differently. The people I talked with were aghast at the attitudes of our government. I was courteously told that it wasn't my fault, since I had not voted for Bush, but I answered that still I felt badly about all the problems the United States is causing.

I went on to say that the problem here is not only with the government but also with the viewpoints of many people—perhaps even a majority of Americans. As an example, I remarked that the antiwar group I am associated with could not agree on the withdrawal of U.S. troops from Iraq. The response was disappointed astonishment. When several people expressed ad-

miration for Noam Chomsky, I told them that he was not typical of mainstream American thought, even among our best educated and most liberal people.

In retrospect, I think I was right in resisting any impulse to defend the United States while traveling abroad. My European friends—and I—would have thought it in bad taste. One professor was encouraged by my openness to recount the story of an American he had met recently who had countered questions about whether oil was a motive for the invasion of Iraq by claiming that we had a right to take Iraq's oil after 9/11. "Ambassadors" for our country must move beyond the psychology im-

In Germany, I saw not a single flag, not even on government buildings....Nobody would ever think of saying that he or she is "proud to be a German."

plicit in this viewpoint.

While we Americans self-righteously point to a rise in anti-Semitic incidents in Europe, I was told in Germany that, yes, of course, Mel Gibson's movie, *The Passion of the Christ*, is transparently anti-Semitic, that the only people portrayed as bad in the movie are the Jews, that the Roman emperor and governor are supposed to be good guys, and that the audiences for the film in Germany are small. I cannot separate in my mind the spectacle of hordes of American religious fundamentalists and thrill-seekers flocking to Gibson's "Christian" hate film from a wonderful jazz concert that I attended in an art gallery in Munich, where the young German musicians introduced "a ballad by the American pianist, Horace Silver, entitled 'Peace'." Horace Silver has written scores of jazz

tunes; the selection of that theme was deliberate. It was played beautifully, with the originality characteristic of good jazz, and with a deep musical intuition of what it meant.

CNN in Europe is startlingly different from CNN here, although both are Time-Warner companies. I recognized Christiana Amanpour and one other reporter, but, judging from their way of speaking English, most newscasters are not American. I saw a Palestinian mother weeping hysterically as she handed her little boy, who had just been shot dead by the Israeli army, to a man who was taking him—too late—for first aid. I saw a Palestinian man held as a suspected terrorist at an Israeli checkpoint, blindfolded, on his knees, for three hours, screaming out for water, which he was given. I heard an Israeli soldier say, "We are human beings, they are animals."

I saw an American soldier guarding prisoners in Iraq telling a prisoner, "I want to put my foot in your ass." The reporter heard another American soldier say that he "wish[ed] these guys would try to escape, so I could kill them." At the time, neither I nor the CNN reporter could have known that these expressions of racial mastery were only a faintly audible echo from the depths to which many of our soldiers and their leaders have sunk.

I watched a long segment centered on a high Iraqi police official who was torn by divided loyalties. He told the reporter that he had in common with the Iraqi insurgents what "all Iraqis want, the departure of you Americans." This police official took the reporter to his home. He asked his little girl, who was only eight or ten years old, why the Americans had come to Iraq. She answered in Arabic, and the officer translated for the reporter: "They want to take our oil."

I was stunned by what I heard and saw on CNN-Europe. They advertised their upcoming coverage of the presidential election by saying that their organization would not rely on American reports, but would instead take into account "your skepticism" of the electoral process in the

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Who is Responsible for Torture?

(Continued from page 1)

has two elements, which this article takes up in turn.

First, torture involves the intentional infliction on any person of "severe pain or suffering, whether physical or mental." Saddam Saleh Aboud told the *New York Times* reporter, Ian Fisher, that he had been tortured at Abu Ghraib after his arrest on Nov. 29, 2003, "when he reported to the Iraqi police a car on Saddoun Street in downtown Baghdad that he believed was wired with a bomb." Fisher says that Mr. Aboud, a trader and Sunni Muslim, bluntly told him he did not report the bomb out of concern for American soldiers, whom he wants to leave Iraq, but because the bomb "would have killed innocent people." Turned over to American soldiers by the Iraqi police, he was sent to Abu Ghraib, where he said he had spent three years as a political prisoner before his release in a general amnesty declared by Saddam Hussein in October 2002.

Last November 29, Mr. Aboud said, he was put in cell no. 42, hooded, made to stand on a box with his hands laced over his head, mocked by an interrogator because his first name is Saddam, and then beaten with a broomstick, urinated on by a guard prisoners called "the crazy soldier," doused with cold water, and returned to his cell. The next day, Aboud told Fisher, a sergeant named Ivan (whom he described as "not a man") threatened to "have my soldiers rape you" if he did not confess. For 18 days—according to fellow detainees, for he himself lost track of time—he endured such treatment as exposure to barking dogs and having his arms cuffed to his legs behind his back. Then, he told Fisher, he was "ready to talk." Mr. Aboud was so "afraid that they would take me back to the torture room" that he told interrogators not only that he knew "Zarqawi," a Jordanian militant with ties to Al Qaeda, but that "I am his driver, I swear to God." So terrified was he that when asked about Osama bin Laden, he told Fisher, "I said, 'I am Osama bin Laden, but I am disguised.'"

Despite the impossibility of verifying Mr. Aboud's claims, Fisher writes, his information about dates and the names of several cellmates matches known facts, as do the first names of Americans in his report

(including "Ivan" and "Lynn or Lynnie") and the roles they played. [2] Another *New York Times* report, "Testimony From Abu Ghraib Prisoners Describes a Center of Violence and Fear," quotes the sworn statement by Amjed Isail Waleed (in addition to citing five other statements, among a total of fourteen), that after other assaults upon him he was sodomized with a nightstick by a guard. "Some of the prisoners ... provided at least partial collaboration" both of "Mr. Waleed's account of being beaten and sodomized" and of "testimony by others." [3]

The British newspaper *The Observer* reported "complaints that torture was carried out at other U.S. facilities, including Camp Cropper, a holding center for detain-

According to U.S. Major General Taguba, the priority at Abu Ghraib was "getting intelligence, including by intimidation and torture," and "Army regulations and the Geneva conventions were routinely violated."

ees close to Baghdad's airport." [4] A report on Army documents "first obtained by the *Denver Post*" revealed details of "three previously unreported incidents" at other "detention centers in Iraq" where "Iraqi prisoners died after questioning by American interrogators." [5]

The second element in the Convention Against Torture's definition is that the infliction of pain and suffering is either instigated by "or with the consent or acquiescence of a public official or other persons acting in an official capacity."

In "Torture at Abu Ghraib," the first in a series of *New Yorker* articles by Seymour M. Hersh on United States "interrogations" of prisoners at detention centers since "the war on terror" began, Hersh cites a long report completed by Major General Anto-

nio M. Taguba in February but "not meant for public release" which describes "sadistic, blatant, and wanton criminal abuse" at Abu Ghraib perpetrated "by members of the American intelligence community" as well as by soldiers of the 372nd Military Police Company. Contrary to the conclusions of a previous report on the prison system in Iraq by "the Army's chief law-enforcement officer, Provost Marshal (and Major General) Donald Ryder," Taguba found that Army intelligence officers, C.I.A. agents, and private contractors "actively requested that MP guards set physical and mental conditions for favorable interrogation of witnesses." He "strongly recommended immediate disciplinary action" against two military officers, Colonel Thomas Pappas and Lieutenant Colonel Stephen Jordan, and two civilian contractors, Stephen Stephanowicz and John Israel (both employed by CACI International), whom he suspected "were either directly or indirectly responsible for the abuse at Abu Ghraib." [6]

According to Taguba, the priority at Abu Ghraib was "getting intelligence, including by intimidation and torture," and "Army regulations and the Geneva conventions were routinely violated." Hersh states that Human Rights Watch complained to Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld "that civilians in Iraq remained in custody month after month with no charges brought against them. Abu Ghraib had become, in effect, another Guantanamo." [7]

Hersh's second article, "Chain of Command," implicitly contrasts the ethical behavior of one of the military men commended in General Taguba's report—Master-at-Arms William J. Kimbro, a Navy dog handler who "refused to participate in improper interrogations despite significant pressure from the MI [military intelligence] personnel at Abu Ghraib"—with the wrongful decisions Hersh attributes to high military officials. Major General Geoffrey Miller, commander of the task force in charge of the Guantanamo prison, brought in "experts" to review the Army program in Iraq and then recommended "that Army prisons be geared, first and foremost, to interrogations and the gathering of information needed for the war effort." General

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Who is Responsible for Torture?

Sanchez, the commander of U.S. troops in Iraq, agreed and on November 19, 2003, ordered that "tactical control" over Abu Ghraib be given to MI. With General Taguba's report in mind, Hersh concludes that "Miller's recommendations and Sanchez's change in policy undoubtedly played a role in the abuses at Abu Ghraib." [8]

Hersh's third *New Yorker* article, "The Gray Zone," begins: "The roots of the Abu Ghraib prison scandal lie not in the criminal inclinations of a few Army reservists but in a decision, approved last year by Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld, to expand a highly secret operation, which had been focused on the hunt for Al Qaeda, to the interrogation of prisoners in Iraq." The original operation, authorized by Rumsfeld soon after the start of the war in Afghanistan, was known as a "special-access program" (SAP) and set up with a secret office in the Pentagon. The operation was designed to enable American forces "throughout the world ... to move quickly against terrorist targets" without having to overcome "legalistic" hurdles. The SAP could "recruit operatives" and "acquire the necessary equipment, including aircraft." The program had the approval of National Security Advisor Condoleezza Rice. According to a "former high-level intelligence official," President Bush, whose administration "unilaterally declared Al Qaeda and other captured members of international

terrorist networks to be illegal combatants, and not eligible for the protection of the Geneva conventions," was informed of the program's existence. [9]

Hersh learned from the same intelligence official that the SAP became involved in some Iraq war assignments, such as hunting unsuccessfully "for Iraqi weapons of mass destruction," but the large-scale transfer of the SAP to Iraq did not occur until the war there began to go badly in the summer and fall of 2003. "A key player" in the new, tough approach to the Iraqi insurgency—an approach "endorsed by Rumsfeld and carried out by Stephen Cambone," a Pentagon official who in March 2003 became Under-Secretary of Defense for Intelligence—was Major General Geoffrey Miller. As General Taguba's report revealed, Major General Miller not only urged that military intelligence be put in charge of Abu Ghraib but "briefed military commanders in Iraq" on interrogation methods used at Guantanamo, including sleep deprivation and "placing prisoners in 'stress positions' for agonizing lengths of time." [10]

Kenneth Roth, the executive director of Human Rights Watch, charges that since September 11, "the military has systematically used third-degree techniques" that violate the Geneva Conventions "around the world." [11]

Torture, banned by international conventions, is illegal wherever it is used. Con-

gress must ensure an end to the use of torture and call for a full accounting from public officials Rumsfeld, Rice, Cheney, and Bush of what they know about the SAP program in Iraq.

NOTES

[1] Convention Against Torture, United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, www.unhchr.ch/html/menu3/b/h_cat39.html.

[2] Ian Fisher, *New York Times*, 14 May 2004, A10.

[3] "Testimony From Abu Ghraib Prisoners Describes a Center of Violence and Fear," *New York Times*, 22 May 2004, A7.

[4] *The Observer* (London), 2 May 2004, online edition.

[5] *New York Times*, 22 May 2004, A1.

[6] Seymour M. Hersh, "Torture at Abu Ghraib," *New Yorker*, 10 May 2004, 43–46.

[7] Seymour M. Hersh, "Torture at Abu Ghraib," *New Yorker*, 10 May 2004, 47.

[8] Seymour M. Hersh, "Chain of Command," *New Yorker*, 17 May 2004 www.newyorker.com/fact/content/?040517fact2, 8–9.

[9] Seymour M. Hersh, "The Gray Zone," *New Yorker*, 24 May 2004, 39–41.

[10] Seymour M. Hersh, "The Gray Zone," *New Yorker*, 24 May 2004, 40–41.

[11] Quoted by Seymour M. Hersh, "The Gray Zone," *New Yorker*, 24 May 2004, 44.

Impressions

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U.S. The only explanation that makes sense is that CNN is a cable channel, and Time-Warner marketers realize that the European audience for international news will simply not pay for the transparent mind-tampering that passes as news in the United States.

I talked at length to a young scientist from Serbia, who at first thought that I would be hostile. When I indicated that he could say whatever he wanted to me, since I am always suspicious of U.S. motives for dropping bombs on other people regardless of our government's excuses, I learned something about the other side of the Kosovo story. He saw the Kosovo Libera-

tion Front as a creature of the CIA, which armed and encouraged it to attack towns and villages in Kosovo, provoking a reaction from Milosevic that in turn provided the rationale for an American intervention that featured the bombing of bridges in Serbia in daylight when people and cars were on them. This view is consistent with what we know about how the CIA operates when its mission is to subvert other countries.

As I was leaving the Museum of Modern Art in Munich, I noticed a poster (in German and English) reminding people of the former use of that building as a showcase for Hitler's exhibitions of the Nazi version of public culture. The wording was

understated, but the last sentence, "Hundreds of thousands of people would come to these exhibits," continues to haunt me.

My observations are anecdotal, subject to personal bias, and certainly not based on a statistically representative sampling of European public opinion. But I have returned convinced that American arrogance—the assumption that we know what is best for others—is misplaced and that we cannot continue indefinitely without harm to ourselves to flout deep feelings and reasonable viewpoints in a vital part of the world where many people seem finally to have learned from their tragic histories how to be civilized.

Toward the Petro-Apocalypse

(Continued from page 1)

Meacher, formerly UK minister of the environment (1997–2003), wrote recently in the *Financial Times* that unless there is a general awakening and decisions at the planetary scale bring radical change in energy policy, “civilization will confront the most acute and no doubt most violent upheaval in recent history.”

If, in spite of everything, we want to maintain a bit of humanity in life on Earth in the 2010s, we ought, as the geologist Colin Campbell has suggested, call on the United Nations to agree immediately on the following: to guarantee that poor countries will still be able to import a little oil; to forbid oil profiteering; to encourage energy conservation; and to promote renewable sources of energy. In order to attain these objectives, this universal agreement should impose the following measures: every country must regulate oil imports and exports; every country must reduce its oil imports to an agreed-upon global depletion rate; and no oil-exporting country may produce more oil than its annual depletion rate allows.

The priority granted to physical economics will not suit economists and politicians, especially in the United States. No government has ever accepted questioning of the American way of life. Since the first oil shock of 1973–1974, every American military intervention can be analyzed in the light of the fear of running short of cheap oil. And the American production peak in 1970 enabled OPEC to seize the opportunity to cause the first shock, which coincided with the Yom Kippur War. Countries in the West then attempted to regain control and conjure away the specter of shortage, less through energy sobriety than by means of opening oilfields in Alaska and the North Sea. In 1979, the Iranian revolution and the second oil shock allowed OPEC to regain preeminence. Western economies paid dearly for their thirst for oil through the recession that followed.

At the beginning of the 1980s, the financing and arming of Saddam Hussein to fight Iran was part of the American reconquest of the price and flow of oil, as was the cooperation obtained from King Fahd of Saudi Arabia to increase crude oil exports to the West. The price of oil

crashed in 1986, stimulating Western economic growth. This insatiable thirst for energy led to the Iraq wars of 1991 and 2003. The U.S. must have cheap oil—no matter how many died from these wars (100,000? 300,000?), no matter how much they cost (\$100 billion? \$300 billion?), no matter by what means (Dept. of Defense annual budget: \$400 billion).

During the last fifteen years, the multiple conflicts in the Balkans had their source and their resolution in the American desire to keep Russia away from the oil transport routes from the Black Sea and the Caspian to the ports on the Adriatic, by way of Bulgaria, Macedonia, and Albania. Oil geopolitics authorizes any pact with Islamist dev-

...When the price reaches \$100 a barrel, this will be not simply an oil shock, but the end of the world as we know it.

ils, from central Asia to Bosnia, and all the cynical connivances with terrorists, right up to Tony Blair's recent trip to Libya to allow Shell to bring its volume of reserves in return for several hundred million dollars. The present American Middle East initiative is dressed up in humanitarian and democratic considerations, but it is nothing but an attempt to get control once and for all of every source of oil in the region.

More than thirty years of worrying about oil has not opened the eyes of American and European leaders concerning the energy crisis that is looming just before us. Despite what René Dumont and the ecologists were saying from the 1974 presidential campaign on, the governments of industrialized countries have continued to believe in almost inexhaustible cheap oil—to the detriment of the climate and human health, both disturbed by greenhouse gas emissions—instead of organizing a reduction in their economies' reliance on hydrocarbons.

The oil shock that promises to strike before the end of the decade is not like the ones that preceded it. What is at stake this time is not geopolitical, but geological. In 1973 and 1979, the shortage had a political origin in OPEC's decision. Then the supply was restored. Today, it is the wells themselves that are declining. Even if the United States succeeded in imposing its hegemony on all the oilfields in the world (outside of Russia), its army and technology will not be able to prevail against the depletion of conventional oil. And there is not enough time to replace a fluid so cheap to produce, so rich in energy, so easy to use, store, and transport, with so many uses (domestic, industrial, fuel, raw material...), in order to reinvest \$100 billion in another source of abundance that doesn't exist.

Natural gas does not have the most valuable qualities of oil and will reach its global production peak in around 2020, about ten years after the oil peak. The only viable path is immediate oil sobriety organized through an international agreement, authorizing a prompt weaning from our addiction to black gold. Without waiting for this delicate international agreement, our newly elected officials should begin to implement these policies locally. Otherwise, rationing will come from the market through a steep rise in oil prices, and then will be propagated by inflation, with the shock reaching every sector. When the price reaches \$100 a barrel, this will be not simply an oil shock, but the end of the world as we know it.

Yves Cochet, of the Green party, represents Paris in the French National Assembly, and is former minister of the interior and environment.

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COLOMBIA: Biggest Humanitarian Catastrophe of the Western Hemisphere

By Kathy Knight

Three years into Washington's "Plan Colombia," its anti-drug mask is finally falling away to reveal its political face. U.S. military aid that was legally restricted to fighting a war against cocaine can now be used to assist the Colombian army's ongoing war against two guerrilla factions. This purpose was implicit in President Clinton's original strategy as unveiled in 2000. In response to growing cocaine addiction at home, the U.S. would send \$7.5 billion over five years to support a new "push into southern Colombia" to eradicate coca culture in the stronghold of the FARC, the major rebel organization. By 2004 over \$2.6 billion had been spent training and equipping three Colombian army counter-narcotic battalions and supplying some 60 helicopter gunships to protect massive fumigation operations targeted on small coca plots in or near the Amazon jungle. The program ignores the industrial coca plantations of northern Colombia where 40 percent of Colombian coca is produced, which are often protected by illegal paramilitaries.

Since 9/11, the Bush administration has packaged its aid requests in terms of the war on terror and removed legal prohibitions against the use of U.S. funds for counterinsurgency. The 2003 foreign aid bill provided \$450 million for the military and police alongside social and economic assistance capped at \$150 million. Funding is approved each year despite requirements that Colombia show "progress" in bringing its human rights abusers to justice and in ending army collaboration with paramilitary violence against civilians. Both Clinton and Bush have either invoked "national security" or distorted the facts in order to obtain Congressional approval.

This year Colombia presented an unexpectedly rosy assessment of "solid progress" in coca leaf eradication, citing a 21 percent decline in production. But this claim, if true, must confront a consistent pattern in the past decade of coca spraying in the Andean countries: any drop in production in one country has been accompanied by an increase in a neighboring country. Although CIA figures for 2003 show decreases in Colombia and Peru, they show

a 17 percent increase in Bolivia. [1]

Recent reports confirm that the fumigation campaign is intensifying the government's combat with the FARC. According to the *New York Times*, six spray planes crashed in 2003, and one pilot died. The low-flying aircraft took 380 strikes by small arms fire. The conflict endangers not only Colombian military pilots but also Americans and other civilians who are hired by U.S. State Department contractors to interdict drug-cargo flights as well as for herbicide spraying. [2]

The extensive use of private military contractors to fight the U.S.'s wars, which has startled Americans observing the situation in Iraq, has long been practiced in Colombia. But the secrecy, danger, and absence of legal accountability for such work has escaped much scrutiny. The former federal "Drug Czar," Barry McCaffrey, told a *New York Times* reporter, "My guess is that [flying in Colombia] would be even more dangerous than flying in Iraq because on every mission you're facing people determined to kill you." [3]

Three years ago, an American missionary plane was shot down after being mistaken for a drug flight because of miscommunication between a CIA advisor and a Peruvian pilot. American pilots are dependent on incompetent Colombian army intelligence guidance. Washington denies responsibility since the State Department has awarded Virginia-based DYNCORP a \$170 million, five-year contract to hire and pay these civilians. Current foreign aid legislation caps U.S. military and civilian personnel in Colombia at 800, evenly divided between the two. Bush's request for 2005, announced on May 10, asks Congress to raise these limits to 600 civilians and 800 military.

A few months after U.S. military funding starting flowing through the Plan Colombia pipeline, I visited Bogota and a rural province with a large *Witness for Peace* delegation. We came to observe the social impacts of the 38-year civil war and to learn how Colombians from various sectors viewed Plan Colombia. Two messages were loud and clear from academic experts, squatter communities, human rights activ-

ists, labor leaders, and indigenous peoples' representatives. First, sending more military aid would be like "pouring gas on a fire." Second, everyone was anxious that we North Americans understand that *this war is not about drugs!*

We visitors learned that the war in Colombia is about land and resources and who is in control. Elites monopolize economic and political power, and the people are impoverished and displaced. Two million people, or 5 percent of the population, have been forced from their homes at least once. For decades rural Colombians have been driven off to make way for industrialized agriculture, legal and illegal. Fighting among the army, rebels, and paramilitaries has created many refugees. Others have fled their homes to escape massacres or violent harassment by paramilitaries.

The displaced people we visited were careful to explain that "neo-liberal economic policies" (the term they used) were also to blame for their suffering, since the government had ended all subsidies to peasant agriculture as required by the International Monetary Fund and had removed 700,000 acres from cultivation. Imported foods and products have dominated domestic markets during the past decade. Economists explained that the proportion of people living in "absolute poverty" (with annual incomes of US\$500 per year or less) increased from 10 percent in 1990 to 56 percent in cities and 80 percent in the countryside. By 2000, Colombia had Latin America's highest unemployment rate. Almost no social safety net exists. In fact, outside the major cities, the federal government is mostly absent—except for the military.

Colombian farmers grow coca because it is the only crop that pays for itself. Without access to markets, people can't break even with food crops. And families require some cash to meet basic needs. "Development" policies have pushed peasants into coca cultivation.

Coca spraying is not a war on drugs, but a war against people. In Bogota, U.S. embassy officials denied that herbicide spraying was physically harming people and animals or destroying food crops.

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COLUMBIA

(Continued from page 7)

When 25 members of our group traveled to Putumayo in southern Colombia, the most intensively sprayed province, we heard their reports and saw photos of children with skin rashes, acres of dead trees and blighted food crops, killed fish and sick livestock, all resulting in hunger and illness. The herbicide, sprayed at some 30 meters altitude, is Monsanto's glyphosate or "Round-Up," to which a non-EPA approved ingredient is added to improve adherence to coca leaves. Concentrations are far more powerful than permitted in the U. S.

Colombia's war is about control of oil as well as land. Bush is spending \$98 million to train and equip a Colombian army battalion to protect the 480-mile-long Occidental Oil pipeline in eastern (Amazonian) Colombia. Oil is Colombia's chief export. The U.S. imports more oil from Venezuela, Colombia, and Ecuador than from the Persian Gulf countries combined. The pipeline is one example of what Colombians call "megadevelopment." The pipeline runs through the ancestral lands of the U'WA tribe. Other development sites, especially near Pacific coast ports, involve Afro-Colombian homelands. These minority groups have suffered extreme violence as paramilitaries have driven them off lands coveted by international corporate investors. Some experts say that population displacement is Colombia's development policy.

In a recent United Nations news conference, the Humanitarian Coordinator, Jan Engeland, said: "Colombia is by far the biggest humanitarian catastrophe of the Western Hemisphere. . . . It has the biggest number of killings, the biggest human rights problem, the biggest conflict. . . . Only Sudan and Congo have more displaced people." [4]

Yet President Bush offers only militarization and civil war as a solution to such "catastrophe." He has praised Colombia's right-wing president, Alvaro Uribe, who recently imposed a state of emergency, curtailed civil liberties, and labeled human rights activists "defenders of terrorism."

When the 2005 foreign aid bill is debated this summer, Mass. Representative Jim McGovern will continue to lead efforts to reverse the administration's policy toward Colombia. We must urge all our representatives to support amendments to shift funds from military aid to social purposes. Senator John Kerry did not oppose the large military increase for Colombia contained in the 2003 supplemental appropriation bill for Iraq, although he did cosign a letter of concern to Secretary Powell about President Uribe's policies. Presidential candidate Kerry needs to hear from us.

[1] Christopher Marquis and Juan Forero, "Eradicating Andean Coca," *New York Times*, 23 March 2004.

[2] Marquis and Forero, "Eradicating Andean Coca," *New York Times*, 23 March 2004.

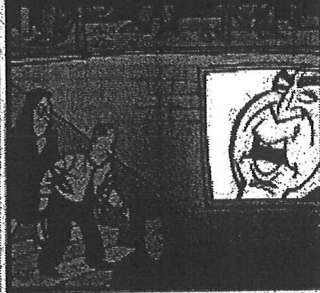
[3] Marquis and Forero, "Eradicating Andean Coca," *New York Times*, 23 March 2004.

[4] Reuters, "Crisis Facing Columbians Is Called Worst in Hemisphere," 11 May 2004.

The homeland is at war in Afghanistan. Because Al Qaeda is responsible for 9-11.



The homeland is at war with Iraq. The homeland has always been at war with Iraq.



Because Iraq is responsible for 9-11.



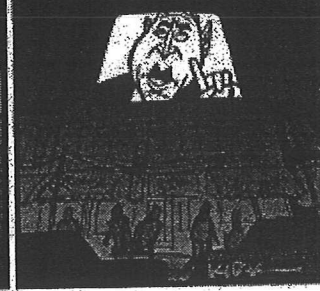
We will vanquish Iraq in this righteous battle to expose their weapons of mass destruction!



Excellent news, comrades! We have vanquished Iraq in this righteous battle to expose their mass graves!



The homeland is at war with Iran. The homeland has always been at war with Iran.



Kirk Anderson

www.kirktoons.com

Newton Dialogues on Peace and War

Dedicated to democratic dialogue and discussion.

We oppose militarism and unilateral, preventive wars.

We support cooperative security strategies through the United Nations.

We oppose unwise, unjust tax cuts and support a just economy that provides support for education, health care and the environment.

We oppose the USA PATRIOT Act and support the protection of our cherished civil rights and liberties.

What can you do?

- Check our Web site for information and events: www.newtondialog.org.
- Join our mailing list by writing to univ@comcast.net or P.O. Box 610395, Newton, MA 02461.
- Join our weekly vigil — every Thursday, 5 to 6 p.m., corner of Beacon and Centre Streets, Newton Center.
- Join our monthly meetings, usually held at 7:30, second Sunday every month, Eliot Church, 474 Centre Street, Newton Center.

Alternative Views

www.alternative-views.org

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August 4, 2004

What's Wrong with the B.U. Bioweapons Lab?

by Prasannan Parthasarathi

Boston University has received funding from the National Institute of Allergy and Infectious Diseases (NIAID), a division of the National Institutes of Health, to build a Biological Safety Level-4 (BSL-4) laboratory in the Roxbury/South End neighborhoods of Boston. The laboratory will be authorized to work with some of the most dangerous known pathogens, including ebola, plague, tularemia, and anthrax. Such research raises major questions of public health and safety, which are heightened because of its location in a densely populated urban area. As the purpose of the laboratory is to conduct research on defense against biological weapons, it may come under the control of the Department of Homeland Security, which would make workers in the lab sub-

ject to federal secrecy rules. Boston-area residents would be provided with no information on the research being conducted in the facility.

A proposal to build a similar laboratory was defeated last year in Davis, California for precisely these reasons. In Boston several community groups, most prominently the Roxbury-based Safetynet and Alternatives for Community and Environment (ACE), have been outspoken critics of the lab. Boston City Councilors Chuck Turner, Felix Arroyo, and Maura Hennigan have proposed an ordinance banning such dangerous research within the city.

Any pathogens accidentally released from the facility will not be confined to the city limits of Boston. Several members of Newton Dialogues have been working with

peace groups in surrounding towns and cities to disseminate information on the proposed lab. An issue of such importance must be subject to democratic debate.

Members of Newton Dialogues have met in recent weeks with Mayor David Cohen, our state representatives, Ruth Balser and Kay Khan, our state senator, Cynthia Creem, and Congressman Barney Frank. The meetings have been excellent, and the receptiveness of our elected officials to the concerns of their constituents has been impressive and heartening. At the same time, we have learned several sobering lessons about how our government works and the state of democracy in our country.

(Continued on page 4)

The View from Hubbert's Peak

by Mike Davis

Angry truckers celebrated this May Day by blocking freeways in Los Angeles and container terminals in Oakland and Stockton. With diesel fuel prices in California soaring to record levels in recent weeks, the earnings of independent container-haulers have dropped below the poverty line. Lacking the power of big trucking companies to pass rising fuel costs on to customers, the drivers—many

of them immigrants from Mexico—have had little choice but to share some of their pain with the public. In one action, abandoned big rigs blocked the morning commute just south of downtown Los Angeles on Interstate 5, making tens of thousands of motorists temporary hostages of the fuel crisis. As one exasperated commuter complained to a radio station, "This is really the end of the world."

Perhaps it is. As Venezuela's energy minister, Rafael Ramirez, told the *Financial Times* on May 24, "The history of cheap oil may have ended." Although real (inflation-adjusted) fuel prices are still well below their 1981 maximum, an ever-grow-

ing chorus of voices, ranging from former UK environment minister Michael Meacher to *National Geographic* magazine, echo Ramirez. We will soon arrive, they claim, at the summit of "Hubbert's peak."

M. King Hubbert was a celebrated oil geologist who in 1956 correctly prophesized that U.S. petroleum production would peak in the early 1970s, then irreversibly decline. In 1974 he likewise predicted that world oil fields would achieve their maximum output in 2000, a figure later revised by his acolytes to somewhere between 2006 and 2010.

If the curve of global oil production is

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To Our Readers

ALTERNATIVE VIEWS CELEBRATES FIRST ANNIVERSARY

Help us celebrate the first anniversary of *Alternative Views* by sending a check for any amount earmarked "for Alternative Views," to Newton Dialogues on Peace and War, P.O. Box 610395, Newton Highlands, MA 02461.

Editors' Note:

AV Marks First Anniversary

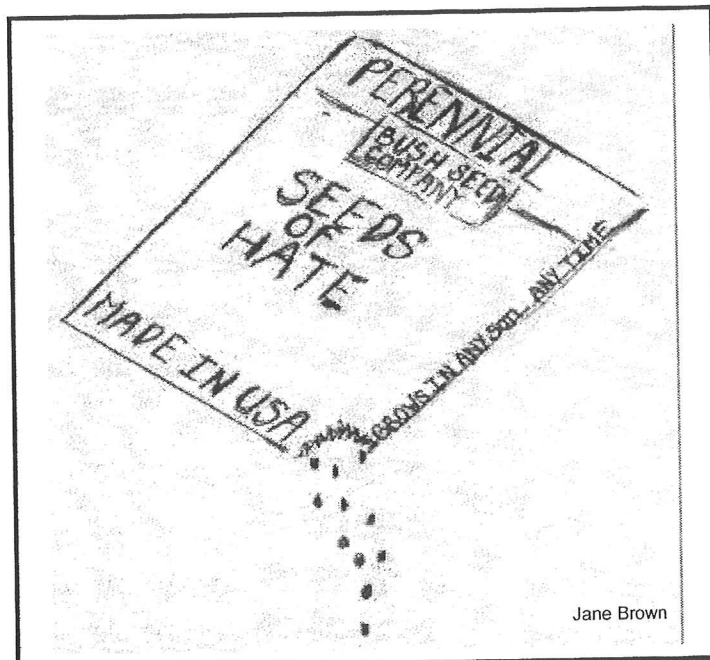
As we mark, with this issue, the first anniversary of *Alternative Views*, we also remember with sorrow the children, women, and men who died in the August, 1945 atomic bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Rededicating ourselves to the "decent respect for the opinions of mankind" recognized in the Declaration of Independence and espoused in the AV Prospectus (June 2003), we pledge to do everything we can to prevent further use of any nuclear weapons. [See our August 2003 issue on "The Legacy of Hiroshima: Can we stop the use of WMD?"]

Internet readers of *Alternative Views* [www.alternative-views.org] can find online the contents of all AV issues from June 2003 through June 2004.

The first aim stated in our Prospectus was to focus attention on the enormous worldwide gap between the material wealth and relative security of the few and the poverty, with its attendant ills, of the many. The second aim was to support, throughout the world, basic human and civil rights. The third aim was to expose and oppose United States imperial ambitions and the Bush administration's asserted right to wage preemptive wars—in stark violation of the United Nations charter.

"Water, Social Justice and the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict" (October) exemplified our concern about the wealth/poverty divide. The article declared that in a world where "the silent deaths of two million children every year" are due to the (largely unreported) "lack of safe water and sanitation," making safe water "accessible to all" is both the most ignored and "one of the most urgent" problems. A significant impediment to its solution, the article indicated, is the widespread privatization of water resources, Sicily and Bolivia being notable examples. Increasing global privatization of many resources profoundly affected with a public interest is also a theme of "The World Trade Organization: Free Trade for Whom?" (September).

While the use of torture in Iraqi prisons under U.S. control is the most notorious recent instance of the violation of human rights ("Who Is Responsible for Torture?", June 2004), the USA PATRIOT Act, which AV called on Newtonites to pro-



Jane Brown

test against (July), dangerously subverts liberties guaranteed by the Bill of Rights. "Newton Board of Aldermen Passes Altered Version of Resolution" (September) reported a modest success by Newton Dialogues on Peace and War in its city-wide petition drive for a protest.

Having denounced from several viewpoints the disastrous U.S. "preemptive" invasion of Iraq (e.g., "Oil, War and the Euro," December), AV published opinion pieces (February, March, April) calling from different angles of vision for complete United States military withdrawal from Iraq.

"Plan Colombia" (June 2004) examined the United States' imperial role in Latin America, as did "Coupe d'Etat in Haiti" (March).

Occasional letters to the editor, and the wacky "Code Purple: Beware of Weapons of Math Instruction" (January), have provided a change in pace for our readers. Jane Brown's political cartoons have been appearing since December.

We invite you, our readers, to argue with us, advise us, and above all to help us keep vigorous democratic debate alive.

Alternative Views

A nonprofit publication of Newton Dialogues on Peace and War (www.newtondialog.org)

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Contact Us

We invite readers' comments on any aspect of this issue of *Alternative Views*. Although it is not possible for us to reply to you individually, we will try to respond in *Alternative Views* to suggestions or criticisms that are frequently made or that we find especially helpful. If you wish to comment on this issue, please write to comments@alternative-views.org or Editors, *Alternative Views*, P.O. Box 610395, Newton, MA 02461. Please include your full name, affiliation if any, and place of residence. The editors may choose to print some comments as letters to the editor. Letters may be edited for space, at the editors' discretion.

Submission Policy

We invite you to inquire about submitting for possible publication an original article expressing an opinion, an analytical summary, or a translation — not to exceed 1000 words — on any subject with which *Alternative Views* is concerned (see our Prospectus). Please include in your inquiry a clear description of the proposed piece. Send the inquiry to submissions@alternative-views.org.

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A Tale of Three Soldiers

by Nancy Lessin and Charley Richardson

On Saturday May 22, 2004, the *Washington Post* carried an article, headlined "Iraq War Veteran Found Guilty of Desertion," about Florida National Guardsman Staff Sergeant Camilo Mejia. Mejia served in Iraq from March to October 2003. He returned to the United States in October 2003 for a two-week furlough, and then refused to return to what he believes is an illegal, immoral war. After 5 months, Mejia turned himself in to the military along with a 55-page conscientious objector application. He was charged with desertion.

During his court martial at Ft. Stewart, Georgia, the military judge ruled much of his defense inadmissible, including specifics regarding abuse of Iraqi detainees that Mejia had witnessed. Most of those on the witness list compiled by his civilian defense attorney were rejected by the same military judge. On May 21 a military jury found Mejia guilty of desertion. In his statement to the court prior to being sentenced, Mejia detailed some of the horrors of war that he witnessed—children killed in crossfire, bystanders beheaded by weapons fire. He spoke about an inept commander more interested in battle medals than the safety of his troops. This commander sent troops out four days in a row to perform the same mission, in the same way, at the same time. On the fourth day, three soldiers sustained serious—some life-threatening—injuries in an ambush that Mejia and other soldiers had feared. Mejia spoke up at that time on behalf of the soldiers in his unit to try to prevent a fifth day of the repeat mission—a response his commander attributed to cowardice.

At the close of his statement to the court, Mejia acknowledged that the military jury could sentence him to prison, but he would sit behind bars a free man, knowing his decision to follow his own conscience was right. He stated that we in this country were all on trial—and the whole world is watching. The jury was given Mejia's 55-page conscientious objector application along with a number of other documents to ponder during their sentencing deliberations. Approximately 20 minutes later, the jury returned to the courtroom to announce their verdict. Mejia received the maximum sentence: one year in prison, loss of rank,

forfeiture of pay, and a bad conduct discharge. He has been transferred to a military prison in Oklahoma, over 1,000 miles from family members in Florida and California.

The same day that the article on Mejia's court martial verdict appeared in its national news section, the *Washington Post* also carried an article in its Metro Section, headlined "Walking Away From A Call To Serve," about Virginia National Guardsman Specialist Dana Jensen. According to the article, when Jensen was called up for an 18-month deployment, he tried to avoid service by arguing that his family and work obligations were too much: his wife was pregnant; his real estate business would suffer. When that didn't get him excused, he briefly made, then withdrew, a claim that

But if you watch out for your own interest, keep your head down and your mouth shut about the politics of the war, the military may just let you slide.

he was a conscientious objector. Then he argued he should not have to serve because he was gay. When he failed to register for his active duty tour on March 1, 2004, he was declared "absent without leave" and was subsequently declared a deserter. Jensen did not turn himself in. Instead, he was tracked down, arrested, and sent to the Army's detention center in Ft. Knox, Kentucky. But in this case of desertion, with none of the principles and politics of Mejia's, the Army granted Jensen an administrative discharge.

The irony of these two articles appearing in the same newspaper on the same day may have been lost on many readers. There was also a further irony. May 19th was the day that both Mejia's and Specialist Jeremy Sivits's court martials began. Sivits took the photographs of U.S. soldiers giving the thumbs-up sign while posing with naked, humiliated, and tortured Iraqi detainees at Abu Ghraib. For failing to take a stand of conscience against the abuse of prisoners, Sivits was sentenced to one year in prison and a bad conduct discharge—the exact

sentence Mejia was given for taking a stand of conscience.

While none of these young men should have been sent off to fight in this unjustifiable war based on lies, there is a story here about the military and the politics of punishment that has yet to be written. It is a story about a military judge's ruling disallowing the majority of Mejia's defense, which would have delved into the illegality of the war in Iraq, the specifics of prisoner abuse, and the transformation that a soldier can go through to arrive at a principled stand of conscience to refuse to participate in war.

It is also a story about the military's ruling in the case of Dana Jensen. According to the article in the *Post*, Jensen tried different unprincipled excuses to avoid deployment and protect his income. In stark contrast to Mejia, who turned himself in to military authorities, Jensen had to be captured. At the heart of the story would be the question of why Jensen received an administrative discharge with no punishment, while Mejia received the maximum penalty allowed by a special court martial.

Comparing the treatment of Mejia, Sivits, and Jensen can lead to only one conclusion: that none of their trials were about principle, about right and wrong. They were, in fact, about sending a clear message to the troops and to the American people. If you are near the bottom of the chain of command, if you get caught up in the racism and dehumanization of this war, if you fail to stand up to the pressure, the orders, and your command, and if your illegal actions are exposed to the world, you will be made a scapegoat and you will be punished. If, however, you do take a stand of conscience against an illegal and immoral war, if you expose its horrors and your command's shortcomings, you will also be punished. But if you watch out for your own interest, keep your head down and your mouth shut about the politics of the war, the military may just let you slide.

This is the story that is begging to be written. We hope that it soon will be.

Nancy Lessin and Charley Richardson are cofounders of Military Families Speak Out.

What's Wrong with the B.U. Bioweapons Lab?

(Continued from page 1)

Lesson #1: Excessive Government Secrecy

Our elected officials were for the most part only vaguely aware of the project. Our visits served the important function of educating them on the issue. It has been shocking to us that a project of this magnitude can come in "under the radar," with very little knowledge on the part of the public and local and state officials. It appears that, out of a fear of massive opposition to the lab, Boston University and NIAID have operated in great secrecy. Is this how a healthy democracy should operate?

Lesson #2: Lack of Democratic Oversight

The decision to build this facility was purely an administrative one. That is, it was taken by an agency within the federal government, which is heavily insulated from democratic oversight. No representatives of those affected by the decision, whether Congress, the Massachusetts legislature, the Boston City Council, or the Newton Board of Aldermen, approved the decision. NIAID requires community approval for the project, but what this means exactly is not specified, and BU claims to have satisfied this requirement. There must be environmental impact assessments at both the state and federal level, but these are done by state and national agencies. Neither the agencies nor their reports are subject to democratic oversight. The lack of democratic participation in such decisions makes it very easy for the government to push through projects of this sort, but very hard to resist from below. We, the citizens, have very little voice in this process.

Lesson #3: Failure of State Regulation

The state regulatory process has not

kept up with the technological demands of the times. There is neither federal nor state regulation of biological laboratories. Nor are there guidelines for their location. The environmental impact assessments of the BU lab will focus on issues such as traffic and the footprint of the building, but will not be concerned with the potential impact of the activity conducted within such a building! Despite national and even international outcry about BSL-4 facilities, the government has not developed regulations analogous to those which exist for the chemical or nuclear industries.

Lesson #4: Violations of the Constitution

In 1972, the United States signed the Biological Weapons Convention, which banned all preparations for biological warfare. Leading American arms control experts, including James Leonard, who was head of the U.S. delegation to the Biological Weapons Convention negotiations in 1972, have expressed grave misgivings about U.S. bioweapons policy. In a recent article entitled "Biodefense Crossing the Line," Leonard and others wrote, "The rapidity of American biodefense programs, their ambition and administrative aggressiveness, and the degree to which they push against the prohibitions of the Biological Weapons Convention, are startling." [1] Article six of the U.S. Constitution declares that "all Treaties made, or which shall be made, under the Authority of the United States, shall be the supreme Law of the Land." How many times can we allow our constitution to be violated in the name of an open-ended war on terror?

Lesson #5: Unchecked Militarism

The BSL-4 lab in Boston is part of Project BioShield, approved by George W.

For more information on the B.U. bioweapons lab and local efforts to stop its construction, visit stopbubioterrorlab@ace-ej.org.

Express your concerns about federal funding for this lab and authorization for the bioweapons program by calling Senator Ted Kennedy at his local office, 617-565-3170.

Bush in 2003, which seeks to strengthen bioweapons defense capabilities in the United States. Project BioShield was adopted even though U.S. intelligence officials have concluded that terrorist groups, including al Qaeda, possess no biological weapons capability.

BioShield, however, does bring the medical and biological sciences establishments increasingly under the umbrella of the Pentagon as defense-related projects become a major source of research funding. In recent years a growing number of areas of American life, from higher education to civil liberties, have been brought into the service of the military. In 2003, for example, MIT received more than \$500 million from the Defense Department, making it the 48th largest defense contractor. Do we want the medical research agenda to be set by the military?

[1] Milton Leitenberg, James Leonard, and Richard Spertzel, "Biodefense Crossing the Line," *Politics and the Life Sciences* 22 (2004), 1-2.

Prassanan Parthasarathi, who teaches history at Boston College, is a member of Newton Dialogues on Peace and War, as well as other peace and justice organizations.

SWING STATE ELECTION ACTION

Are you frustrated? Do you feel powerless to do anything about swing states, such as Florida, Pennsylvania, and New Hampshire?

You can register likely Democratic voters in key battleground states while staying in Massachusetts, as well as register and canvas undecided voters while vacationing in a swing state.

Here are some places to find out how.

1. Telephone and write to unregistered voters in swing states. You can register them over the phone and by mail in a program developed by ReDefeatBush.com. For more information, contact Paula Chasan, paulacello@rcn.com or 617-364-6789.

2. Travel to a swing state—especially your native state—and hook into established groups

registering voters in the area. To learn more, contact Ros Winsor, roswinsor@aol.com or 617-566-5215.

3. Canvass voters in swing states, reaching out to undecided voters, talking to them directly about issues important to them in a program developed by America Coming Together (ACT). For more information, go to www.act4victory.org.

The Emotional Costs of Our Mid-East War

by Richard H. Wolff

Bush's war in Iraq and the resultant increase of "terrorist" violence around the world have caused much psychological trauma and vastly increased the level of terror and rage in millions of victims, as well as others of us who are lucky enough not to have become victims. Many of the victims are children who, if not killed or maimed, survive on a diet of distrust and hatred which await expression in who knows what ways. Thousands of persons who identify with the humiliation, helplessness, and rage of these victims are becoming willing recruits as terrorists to continue the cycle of violence. Needless to say, this reality has raised the level of anxiety about terrorism of many of the earth's inhabitants. It should be noted that the violence perpetrated by "terrorists," as horrible as it is, is far exceed by the officially sanctioned military violence of jet planes, helicopter gunships, and smart bombs.

Many of the soldiers who are lucky enough to return from Iraq will have their lives and relationships with others de-

formed by post traumatic stress disorder (PTSD). The war will not be over for them because of endless nightmares of violence, combat flashbacks, emotional deadening and detachment in relationships, poorly controlled anger, depression, and increased risk of homelessness, drug addiction, and suicide.

War itself is an atrocity; and most of us maintain a comfortable emotional distance from it and so do not feel directly responsible for the killing and destruction we see in the news. The news we do see is often sanitized, and slanted in ways which allow us to rationalize and justify our military's violence as patriotic and serving a greater purpose. By contrast, soldiers in combat must personally kill and mutilate enemy soldiers. They are motivated by anger, comradeship, patriotism, fear, and a desire to stay alive. But, when it is all over, the surviving soldiers have to face sometimes overwhelming feelings of guilt. This is especially true if their violence was against innocent civilians.

According to a recent survey of GIs in Iraq published in the *New England Journal of Medicine* and quoted in the *Boston Globe*, one in four Marines reported having killed Iraqi civilians, more than half had handled corpses or human remains, and over 90 percent had been attacked or ambushed. [1]

In some veterans, guilt continues to gnaw away inside, causing them to hate themselves and to expect others to despise and reject them if they knew the truth about what the veteran had done. They feel unlovable and incapable of loving. Other veterans end up seeing themselves as "trained to kill." Some of them have persisting problems controlling their anger, which can erupt in explosive outbursts, while others isolate themselves from contact with other people for fear someone may trigger a violent, murderous reaction.

The recent extended deployment of soldiers in Iraq has increased the stress and hardship for them and their families. Over

(Continued on page 6)

Commentary

The Rest Is Silence: A War Diary

by Christopher J. Stephens

I've spent most of my life drowning in a sea of words, empty platitudes, long poetic speeches, great novels, and boring short stories. As a writing and literature teacher, I have hidden behind the shield of Shakespeare, the fortress of Fitzgerald, and the dungeon of Dickinson. For every situation, I would retreat to my experts, my panel of geniuses who had seen everything and could offer at least a modicum of sage wisdom and pointed advice. The life of an adjunct college instructor is one of impermanence. We are mercenaries, per diem teachers who hire on for a semester, stuffed with grand ideas and exaggerated expectations of changing the world through exposing students to the exquisite beauty of English, and then we move on. There's no time for disappointments.

I teach at three different local colleges and a national on-line college, and I supplement my income with freelance writing and editing. My students are recent high

school graduates, children born in the early eighties trying to find a place in our dangerous world. I also teach women who returned to college after a long gap in their education. They, too, are trying to operate with the wings I'm giving them, devices to get their minds moving, tools to help them be effective writers. My third set of students, police officers and military personnel, are men and women unaccustomed to right-brained thinking. They write incident reports and they know where and when to cite evidence, but they have never been asked to look inward and personally connect to a text.

With all this as a background, why am I now so ashamed to be an English teacher in these days of war? Why am I embarrassed to think that I can find solace in writing? There is a greater nobility in knowing how to build a house, or deliver oil, or take down information at an accident scene. At least these things will help peo-

ple in a time of war. Think of the immediate needs and fill them. There's no time to read, no time to think, and no time to dream in times of war. Now, we do what we're told and wait for the inevitable. It's just not possible to turn off thoughts when I can clearly remember, as a five-year-old, watching Cronkite deliver Vietnam War casualty reports as we all sat down to dinner. Take the cold truth of numbers, grainy black-and-white film footage, and everything added up.

Maybe it's because words have failed me now, and like Hamlet's dying statement, the rest is silence. Disregard the composition of a sonnet, the perfect flow of a love ballad, the dark imagery of Edgar Allan Poe. Throw away the logic of character development and the tragic flaw of Willy Loman. My students will learn this all on their own time and at their own speed and, if it doesn't connect, then it wasn't meant to

(Continued on page 7)

The View from Hubbert's Peak

(Continued from page 1)

indeed near the point of descent, as these experts believe, it has epochal implications for the world economy. More expensive oil will undercut China's energy-intensive boom, return OECD countries [the world's richest nations, which comprise the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, comprised of the world's richest economies] to the bad old days of stagflation, and accelerate the environmentally destructive exploitation of low-grade oil tars and shales. Most of all, it will devastate the economies of oil-importing third world countries. Poor farmers will be unable to purchase petroleum-based artificial fertilizers just as poor urban-dwellers will be unable to afford bus fares. Already, rising oil prices have brought chronic blackouts to cities throughout the globe's southern hemisphere.

The only certain beneficiaries of this coming economic chaos will be the big five oil corporations and their corrupt partners: the Nigerian generals, Saudi princes, Russian kleptocrats, and their ilk. Crude oil truly will become black gold. The rising value of an increasingly scarce resource is a form of monopoly rent, and a future permanent crude-oil regime of \$50 per barrel (or higher) would transfer at least \$1 trillion per decade from consumers to oil producers. In plain English, this would be the greatest robbery by a rentier elite in world history. Someday, Enron may seem like the equivalent of a liquor store holdup by comparison.

The oilmen in the White House have the best view of the lush terrain on the far side of Hubbert's peak. No wonder, then, that a map of the "war against terrorism"

corresponds with such uncanny accuracy to the geography of oil fields and proposed pipelines. From Kazakhstan to Ecuador, American combat boots are sticky with oil. To cite two recent, almost random examples: First, the Malaysian foreign minister warned in late May that Washington was exaggerating the threat of terrorist piracy in the Straits of Malacca in order to justify the deployment of forces there—right at the chokepoint of East Asia's oil supply.

Second, T. Christian Miller, reporting in the *Los Angeles Times*, revealed that U.S. Special Forces, as well as the CIA and private American security contractors, are integrally involved in an ongoing reign of terror in Columbia's Arauca province. The aim of "Operation Red Moon" is to annihilate the left-wing ELN guerrillas threatening the oilfields and pipelines operated by L.A.-based Occidental Petroleum. The result, Miller reports, has been a slow-motion massacre. "Mass arrests of politicians and union leaders have become common. Refugees fleeing combat have streamed into local cities. And killings have soared as right-wing paramilitaries have targeted left-wing critics." Latin America—Mexico, Venezuela, Columbia, and Ecuador—currently supplies more oil to the United States than the Middle East, and, from the very beginning, the White House has defined the War on Terrorism as including counterinsurgency in the Western Hemisphere.

Is there a pattern here? Indeed, is there a U.S. master plan for the control of oil in an age of diminishing supply and soaring prices? Obvious questions, but don't ask a Democrat. Although many ordinary Americans have little difficulty connecting the

dots (to use a currently popular expression) linking blood to oil, the Democrats, with few exceptions, refuse to ask any deep or probing questions about the economic architecture of the New American Empire.

John Kerry has waffled between advocating an energy version of Fortress America (via the integration of Canadian and Mexican oil resources) and complaints that the Bush administration hasn't put enough pressure on OPEC, especially Saudi Arabia, to expand production. One of the richest members of the Senate in history, Kerry seems congenitally allergic to the kind of anti-corporate populism and bold muckraking that has made Michael Moore an international anti-Bush icon.

Too bad. A genuinely progressive candidate might have found a rich precedent in the proceedings of a celebrated 1930s Senate investigation into the role of the international arms trade in fomenting war and intervention. The Nye Committee, named after the senator from North Dakota who chaired it, probed deep into the shadow world of arms dealers and munitions corporations. Is there any less urgent need to call today for congressional hearings into the oil industry's comprehensive corruption of US foreign policy?

Mike Davis is the author of Dead Cities, City of Quartz, and Ecology of Fear, and co-author of Under the Perfect Sun: The San Diego Tourists Never See.

"The View from Hubbert's Peak," copyright 2004 Mike Davis, was originally published on 26 May 2004 by TomDispatch.com.

The Emotional Costs of Our Mid-East War

(Continued from page 5)

half of their spouses report daily fear that their spouse will be killed or injured in Iraq. Anxiety on both sides is increased by the fact that half of these families report having had difficulty sending or receiving communications with their absent family member. Fully 40 percent report experiencing frequent depression. [2]

At the same time that soldiers are fighting a war of occupation and suffering all

the distresses that combat entails, federal support for veterans through the Veterans Administration (VA) is woefully inadequate. In testimony to the House Appropriations Subcommittee on March 25, 2004, the Medical Director of the American Psychiatric Association pointed out the problem. Since 1996, spending for veterans' mental health has declined by 25 percent in real dollars; more than 460,000 veterans are diagnosed with service-connected mental

disorders, 180,000 of them with PTSD; veterans with mental illness also have significant medical conditions and are therefore difficult and expensive to treat; and veterans with substance abuse disorders are drastically under-served.

Veterans with disabilities are short-changed in another way. Unfair and unbelievable as it seems, their military retirement benefits are reduced by the amount of

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The Emotional Costs of Our Mid-East War

(Continued from page 6)

their disability pensions! As Thomas Oliphant reported: "In addition to turning people away from VA facilities en masse, the government is also gouging them with escalating out-of-pocket charges. Next year veterans will be paying roughly \$1.3 billion on health care expenses, six times what they were paying when Bush took office." [3] Bill Moyers of National Public Radio reported on "Now", 7-1-04, that Veterans health care is underfunded by one billion dollars, and that while some veterans have to wait three to six months for treatment, any congressman can walk into a VA hospital such as Walter Reed and receive immediate care! [4]

Here in America, the negative emotional effects of Bush's war are myriad. How many family members of soldiers killed in this war will have their lives blighted by grief, not to mention financial hardship, and how many children will grow up without the fathers who would have contributed to their emotional security, sense of self, and

sense of what it means to be an adult?

Billions of taxpayers' dollars are being diverted from domestic social service and mental health programs into paying for our military's perpetuation of these tragedies. According to the Center for Strategic and Budgetary Assessments (CBSA), the costs of the Iraq war to American taxpayers will total \$100 billion by Sept. 2004, and very likely will reach \$150 billion by Sept. 2005. This reduced funding adversely affects the physical and mental health of many Americans, who will be denied treatment for psychiatric problems. For example, fewer than 50 percent of all persons with schizophrenia are currently receiving even minimally adequate treatment. [5]

The Bush administration touts itself as keeping Americans secure, but their immoral and unjustified war against the people of Iraq has left Iraqis and Americans much less secure. Why don't they get something right for a change and consider the benefits of using some of our bloated and misdirected defense expenditures to

supply adequate treatment of our damaged veterans who survive this wrong and needless war, to help provide health insurance for the 40 million Americans who can't afford this most basic foundation of emotional and physical security, and to help repair the damage we did in Iraq? If this administration had a conscience, they and millions of others around the world would sleep better for it.

[1] *Boston Globe*, 1 July 2004, quoting from the *New England Journal of Medicine*.

[2] Altman and Blendon, Op-Ed, *Boston Globe*, 13 June 2004.

[3] Thomas Oliphant, Op-Ed, *Boston Globe*, 30 June 2004.

[4] Bill Moyers on "Now," National Public Radio, 1 July 2004.

[5] *Psychiatric Times*, Issue 4, April 2004.

Richard H. Wolff, M.D., is a psychiatrist who has treated veterans of four wars for 23 years at the VA clinic in Boston.

The Rest Is Silence: A War Diary

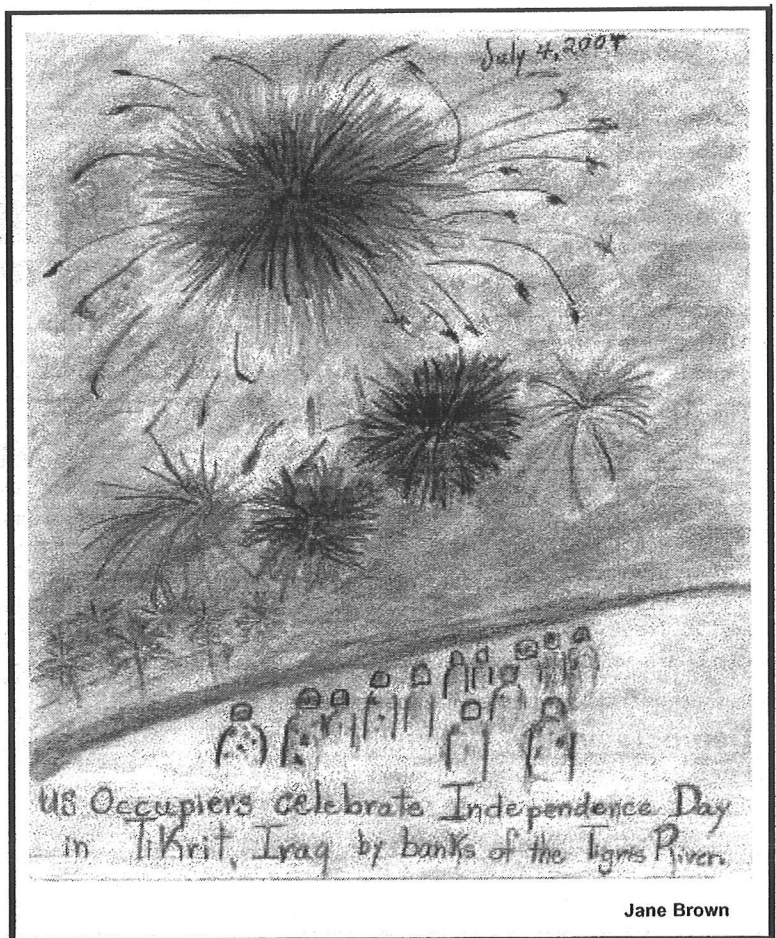
(Continued from page 5)

be. Hamlet was right. Words are too much now. This is where it's supposed to end and don't worry about what will follow. If Dylan Thomas wanted me to rage, rage against the dying of the night, who was I to turn him down?

One night, before the biggest battles began in late winter 2003, one of my police officers gave a cause and effect presentation which he called "Give War a Chance." It was logical, and all the facts he cited backed up his point, but I still felt as if I had failed. Wasn't I supposed to teach about the redemptive quality of literature and the healing effect of knowing how to write? How could I separate my feelings about war from professional observations about a well-written and effective essay? This was a solid student who had been inspired by the assignment and was writing from his heart. I said nothing. Silence.

When the dogs of war were making guttural sounds and things that were broken would never get fixed, I took refuge in my darkened apartment, waiting for the last shoe to drop. I dusted off some old books and looked out the window at the old man across the street from me puttering in his garden. I listened to the 2nd movement of Beethoven's 7th Symphony, the somber, funereal march that builds

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Jane Brown

The Rest Is Silence: A War Diary

(Continued from page 7)

from its opening strains through to the end of its near ten-minute length: no words, no explanations, no needless background information, just the dramatic pathos of loss and longing, driven home through variations on a ten-note theme.

In my unit on *Death of a Salesman*, we spoke at length about what makes a hero, how a tragic flaw makes everything interesting, how drama must have conflict. The students would probably watch the war as background to their young lives filled with preparing papers, attending parties, applying for scholarships. Maybe they'd look up at the screen at times, turn up the volume, and a flash of recognition would come to their mind that the bombs bursting in air have real consequences. Nerve gas, weapons of mass destruction, Daisy Cutters, MOADs, and collateral damage might become more than just highlighted words to look up so they can follow along in their souvenir war programs.

If that happens, if even just one of my students is able to make the connection between war terminology and the eventual outcome, I will know my work has not been in vain. Did I watch the war? Have I watched in disgust as Iraqi prisoners were mocked and tortured, as Americans and South Koreans and anybody else unlucky enough to be in the combat zone were decapitated? I took it all in, but that's what I do. I watch, read, absorb, filter out impurities and pretend I'm not contaminated. I watched it all, but this time was different from the others, with sound and fury and bombs bursting in air, choreographed to the 1812 Overture. This time, I watched in silence.

Christopher J. Stephens, who lives in the Boston area, works as an adjunct college English instructor, conversational English and ESL teacher, literature and writing teacher, and proofreader and editor. His writing appears regularly in The Boston Metro and various online publications.

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EXCERPT

Karl Rove's Master Plan: A One-Party America

by James Moore

While everyone analyzes and complains about his tactics, Karl Rove has his eyes on a grand strategy. The Swift Boat Veterans for Lies is but a tiny piece of a scheme Rove has been carrying in his head since his salad days in Texas. Bush's "Brain" will die happy the day he achieves his two greatest goals. The first of these is to turn the U.S. into what is fundamentally a one-party system. Secondly, he wants the federal government to have so little money that it can do nothing to get in the way of business interests; nor will it be able to sustain any kind of socially progressive assistance for disadvantaged Americans.

His desire to destroy the Democratic Party is not about fair play politics. Rove sees a country where there is only symbolic opposition and democracy is more of

a "Potemkin Village" show than an actual tallying of votes and a discussion of issues. He and the Republicans believe they know what is best for America. They do not consider ideas from the left or the center. Those people are simply wrong to them. Of course, the irony is lost on Rove and his henchmen that a one-party nation, at the worst, turns us into something akin to a communist country or, as a minimum, the pseudo-democracy maintained for decades by Mexico.

But Karl doesn't care. America is not important. Political victory is what matters, the control of power, and the economy. This isn't conspiracy theory nonsense. He's taking the steps. And they are working. During his interview with Brit Hume on Fox News last week, the network played a video clip of an interview with me when I

said, "I truly believe that the policy and politics of Karl Rove are a threat to our republic." The senior presidential advisor dismissed me as "a far left-winger who has been drinking too much swamp water." Rove obviously doesn't realize that 99 percent of America is to the left of him politically and the remaining one percent is likely holed up in a compound in Montana.

So what is he doing? Why do I believe one guy is ruining our political system? Because I know his three-step plan.

It began here in Texas when Rove was rebuilding the Republican Party in the Lone Star State. Rich people were asked to contribute to an organization called the Civil Justice League. They were billed as a grass roots political action committee that wanted to elect judges more sympathetic to the

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Militarism in America

by Bernard Lown, MD

It is my conviction that American society will not resolve the many blights that undermine democratic institutions and promote an inequitable economic order until it addresses a central pathology, namely the dominant role of the military.

Highlighting this role is the size of the military budget. In fact, Pentagon spending exceeds the combined military outlays of the rest of the world. The U.S. military budget approved by Congress for fiscal 2004 totals \$401.3 billion. If one adds the additional appropriation for the war in Iraq, this incredible sum is equivalent to \$1.3 billion daily. In fact, \$54 million is being spent during each hour around the clock. Such sums beggar the imagination.

For the American people this is a scourge of tragic magnitude. The Pentagon

absorbs as much money as the U.S. federal government spends on education, public health, housing, employment, pensions, food aid, and welfare put together. According to Mr. Bush, justifying the astronomic military spending is the "axis of evil" that threatens U.S. security. Yet all the "evil" countries combined spend a mere 1.4 percent of the Pentagon's bloated kitty.

There have been no explanations forthcoming why the threat of a relative handful of terrorists should evoke a military buildup

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Editorial:

Time to Consider Iraq Withdrawal

September 10, 2004, *Financial Times* (London)

In September, a macabre milestone was passed in Iraq. More than 1,000 American soldiers have now been killed since the US-led invasion of the country began nearly 18 months ago. The overwhelming majority lost their lives after President George W. Bush declared major combat operations over in his now infamous "Mission Accomplished" photo-opportunity in May last year.

In that time, an unknown number of mostly civilian Iraqis, certainly not less than 10,000 and possibly three times that number, have perished, and hundreds more are dying each week. After an invasion and occupation that promised them freedom, Iraqis have seen their security evaporate, their state smashed and their country fragment into a lawless archipelago ruled by militias, bandits and kidnappers.

The transitional political process, designed to lead to constituent assembly and general elections next year, has been undermined because the nervous US-dominated occupation authority has insisted on hand-picking various permutations of interim Iraqi governors, mostly exiles or expatriates with no standing among their people. Whatever Iraqis thought about the Americans on their way in—and it was never what these emigré politicians told Washington they would be thinking—an overwhelming majority now views US forces as occupiers rather than liberators and wants them out.

The aftermath of a war won so quickly has been so utterly bungled, moreover, that the US is down to the last vestiges of its always exiguous allied support, at the time when Iraq needs every bit of help it can get. The occupation has lost control of big swaths of the country. Having decided that all those who lived and worked in Iraq under Saddam Hussein bore some degree of collective guilt, Washington's viceroys purged the country's armed forces, civil service and institutions to a degree that broke the back of the state, marginalised internal political forces, sidelined many with the skills to rebuild Iraq's services and utilities and, of course, fuelled an insurgency US forces have yet to identify accurately, let alone get to grips with.

There are signs that US officials are beginning to "get it" - in the phrase Donald Rumsfeld, US defence secretary, patronisingly used this week to characterise Iraqis' grasp of the security situation. But if they are increasingly aware that what they have created in Iraq is a disaster, they seem at a loss to know what to do about it.

The core question to be addressed is this: is the continuing presence



"If this were a dictatorship, it'd be a heck of a lot easier... Just so long as I'm the dictator."

G.W. Bush
Dec. 18, 2001, CNN

Jane Brown

of US military forces in Iraq part of the solution or part of the problem?

As occupying power, the US bears responsibility for Iraq under international law, and is duty-bound to try to leave it in better shape than it found it. But there is no sign of that happening.

The time has therefore come to consider whether a structured withdrawal of US and remaining allied troops, in tandem with a workable handover of security to Iraqi forces and a legitimate and inclusive political process, can chart a path out of the current chaos.

Faced with a withdrawal timetable, Iraqis who currently feel helpless will know that the opportunity to craft a better future lies in their hands.

Take security. Iraqi forces are being rebuilt to take over front-line tasks. This is slow work, but that is not the real problem. It is that those forces already trained cannot stand alongside a US military that daily rains thousands of tons of projectiles and high explosives on their compatriots. Each time there is a siege of Fallujah or Najaf, with the US using firepower that kills civilians by the hundred, these Iraqi forces melt away. Until eventual withdrawal, there would have to be a policy of military restraint, imposed above all on those US commanders who have operated without reference to their own superiors, let alone the notionally sovereign Iraqi government.

Politically, if next year's elections are to have any chance of reflecting the will of the Iraqi people, the process must be opened up. Last month's

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Book Review (excerpted)
By Manuela Badawy (Reuters)

The Party's Over: Oil, War and the Fate of Industrial Societies

By Richard Heinberg
New Society Publishers, 2003

Famine, disease, economic collapse, despotism, and resource wars. Sounds horrific, but that's what's in store unless the world cuts back fast on its energy consumption, according to a new book.

In *"The Party's Over: Oil, War and the Fate of Industrial Societies,"* author Richard Heinberg argues global oil output will peak in three to 12 years, and if an aggressive shift to include new energy sources, like wind, solar or fuel cells in the mix doesn't happen by then, grim consequences will result.

It's no surprise the United States, which consumes a quarter of the world's oil and imports more than half of the 20 million barrels of oil it now uses every day, is at the top of Heinberg's list of offending countries.

But the author stresses high growth rates in oil-thirsty countries like China or India heighten the chances of calamity by increasing competition among nations for oil and therefore requiring the shift to alternatives to be even more decisive.

"The party, which is the past 200 years of fossil fuels use, is coming to an end, and we have the choice as to how to bring that party to an end," Heinberg told Reuters. "Either we do it voluntarily or it will be thrust upon us."

While Heinberg has his share of detractors, even among those who agree that the world may well face some sort of crisis when oil production begins to tail off for good, his worst-case scenario is certainly

attention-grabbing.

He predicts a less global world where cities shrink into towns as people move closer to food and water supplies, where currencies will be local, electrical power delivered by cooperatives and bicycles and walking widespread once again.

"We are going to have to run the movie of globalization in reverse," said Heinberg, an ecology professor at the New College of California, in Santa Rosa north of San Francisco.

He also reckons many U.S. citizens would be willing to trade in their energy-intensive lifestyles in exchange for assurances militants halfway around the world would drop America off their target list.

A SIMPLE CHOICE

To avoid catastrophe, Heinberg stresses that the United States must immediately reduce its dependency on petroleum and work on downsizing its resource-intensive way of life with a view toward conservation and developing renewable energy.

In his book, Heinberg quotes Colin Campbell — a geologist and author known for his forecasts that world oil production is likely to peak within a decade — to help make the case that time is of the essence to avoid disaster. Campbell's claim [is] that: "We now find one barrel of oil for every four we consume."...

Heinberg considers the latest conflict in Iraq not as an attempt to get rid of weapons of mass destruction but as a way for the United States to secure oil supplies. The

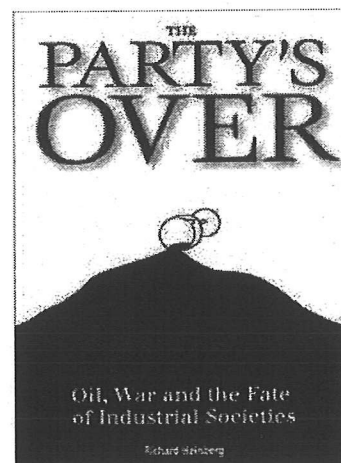
invasion was, in his view, an early sign of the resource wars of the future he predicts if alternatives to oil are not quickly pursued.

He also says that in the absence of massive investments in alternative energy — that is in the billions of dollars rather than the millions proposed by President Bush in his latest budget — relying on price spikes as an early indicator of supply problems is pretty much useless.

That's because the next big supply crisis is likely to signal the beginning of the end of the petroleum era and thus the beginning of chaos — first in the developing world but also, eventually, in the industrialized world as well.

"We really need to wake up. It is the greatest challenge that we have faced in the last 200 years," Heinberg said.

<http://portland.indymedia.org/en/2003/05/264483.shtml>



Time to Consider Iraq Withdrawal

(Continued from page 2)

national conference or proto-assembly was monopolised by expatriate politicians aligned with the interim government of Iyad Allawi. The only way national coalitions can be woven from Iraq's religious and ethnic patchwork is by including the opposition to the occupation. That means negotiating with the insurgents, probably through religious leaders of the stature of Ayatollah Ali al-Sistani. It also means an amnesty,

which should help Iraqi authorities acquire the legitimacy to crush jihadist and other hold-outs.

Ideally, the US would accompany withdrawal by stating it has no intention of establishing bases in Iraq, and instead wishes to facilitate regional security agreements. That would be more stabilising than the current policy of bullying neighbours such as Iran and Syria, whose borders with Iraq the US in any case cannot control.

None of this will be less than messy. But whether Mr Bush or John Kerry wins the upcoming election, the US will eventually have to do something like this. Chaos is a great risk, and occupiers through the ages have pointed to that risk as their reason for staying put. But chaos is already here, and the power that is in large part responsible for it must start preparing now to step aside and let the Iraqis try to emerge from it.

Karl Rove's Master Plan: A One-Party America

(Continued from page 1)

business community. And they did. They also carried the message that trial lawyers are bad people who are ruining our civil justice system. Eventually, sweeping tort reform was enacted in Texas and trial lawyers discovered there was no money in taking most cases because the size of settlements had been limited.

It is not a coincidence that trial lawyers contribute mightily to Democratic Party causes. And tort reform in Texas was not about bringing more justice to the courtroom. It was a step in taking away the ability of trial lawyers to make contributions to Democrats. And it worked. Rove has taken the "lawyers are bad people" campaign onto the national stage and he is winning there, too. Trial lawyers are getting hammered on issues like asbestos and mercury poisoning and every other case they bring against corporate America. If President Bush is re-elected, we will see sweeping reforms that drastically limit the amount of money any lawyer can earn in a liability lawsuit. Trial lawyers will discover, as they already are, that they cannot afford to take most contingency cases. Damage caps generally will not cover costs of preparing for trial. This accomplishes Rove's first step: Lawyers without money mean the Democratic Party has lost a critical source of funding.

Step two is to destroy unions. They, too, give greatly to Democrats. Every chance he gets, Rove has a Republican member of congress drop a provision into a bill that weakens collective bargaining rights. This was the Democrats' main complaint against the Bush-backed version of the Homeland Security Bill. A key provision reduced the ability of federal workers to negotiate for better pay. Every time an

industry is on its knees, Rove sees a chance to get government to help them, but only if its workers will make concessions to get the company going again. These are always about the strength of unions. If he can destroy unions, Rove will take away another critical source of money for Democrats. If Mr. Bush wins another term, there will be draconian measures enacted reducing the negotiating power of unions in this country and their right to organize and negotiate.

The third ingredient in Mr. Rove's political stew is Israel. Through the years, Jewish voters in America have contributed as much as 40 percent of the funds for the Democratic Party on an annualized basis. This is an astounding figure given the fact that people who identify their faith as Jewish on census forms amount to only about two percent of the U.S. population. Their money is critical to Democratic issues and Rove wants to get as much of it over to Republicans as possible. To do this, he has simply had the president step back from criticizing Israel. Bush Administration policy regarding Ariel Sharon has been strictly laissez faire. Sharon can do no wrong. "Israel has a right to protect itself," White House spokesman Scott McClellan says ad infinitum. There is little, if any, pressure for Sharon to make concessions for peace.

When Rove has finally dried up the lifeblood of the Democratic Party, he will guide the president and congress in a direction that begins to bleed the federal government of its money.

Eventually, the Washington bureaucracy will be a vestigial organ, a government that cannot govern because it has no money. There will be no social programs to help the poor. Businesses will develop risky products without the risk of liability,

and the great institutions that have nurtured the growth of our nation, will begin to falter and fail.

This, of course, has already begun to happen. We move closer each day to an imperial presidency and a one party nation while Section 8 Housing for the poor is reduced and more homeless are created and state governments are given the option to bail out of Head Start funding, a program the president promised to protect when he was campaigning. As we reduce assistance for the poor, we still manage to send our troops into combat without bulletproof vests or armored plating on their outdated vehicles. But the president smiles and says things are getting better. And we believe him because Americans choose to believe their president.

Rove knows that, too. He knows that we are all too busy worrying about our jobs and retirement and health care or paying for our children's college education that we don't have time to pay attention to the details of issues. Few of us read the three thousand word stories in the newspaper. We read the headlines. We watch the news with the sound turned down. We're too busy. But citizenship is a job, too. And while we're worrying about the mortgage, Karl Rove is busy stealing our democracy. The plan is working perfectly.

<http://www.buzzflash.com/contributors/04/08/con04361.html>

James C. Moore, is an Emmy Award-winning newscaster and co-author of "Bush's Brain: How Karl Rove Made George W. Bush Presidential." Moore is a long-time Texas journalist and Karl Rove watcher. The book is the basis for a movie, "Bush's Brain," now playing at selected theatres.

Book excerpt

A World Transformed

by George Herbert Walker Bush and Brent Scowcroft

Trying to eliminate Saddam, extending the ground war into an occupation of Iraq, would have violated our guideline about not changing objectives in mid-stream, engaging in "mission creep", and would have incurred incalculable human and political costs. Apprehending him was

probably impossible. We would have been forced to occupy Baghdad and, in effect, rule Iraq. The coalition would instantly have collapsed, the Arabs deserting it in anger and other allies pulling out as well. Under those circumstances, there was no viable "exit strategy" we could see, violat-

ing another of our principles. Furthermore, we had been self-consciously trying to set a pattern for handling aggression in the post-Cold War world. Going in and occupying Iraq, thus unilaterally exceeding the United Nations' mandate, would have

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United States Nuclear Weapons Policy Raises the Risks of Mass Destruction

By Dan Shaw

The current Bush administration has radically altered the direction of U.S. nuclear weapons policy. It proposes to increase the total number of nuclear weapons, expand the situations where they may be deployed, and resume testing. Under the Bush administration's preemptive war policy, which has lowered the threshold for taking aggressive military action, the role of nuclear weapons has been redefined from deterrence to a potential first strike. The administration treats nuclear weapons as if they were part of the conventional arsenal. The U.S. no longer subscribes to several treaties controlling nuclear weapons production, testing, and deployment. This approach has raised the risk of nuclear proliferation by giving less powerful non-nuclear states another incentive to acquire nuclear weapons. These policy changes by the U.S. have made the world significantly more dangerous. The U.S. has been transformed from an advocate for reducing the danger from nuclear weapons to a nuclear threat to the rest of the world, for it possesses and is prepared to use weapons of mass destruction.

Strategic Arms Reduction Treaties

In 1997 presidents Clinton and Yeltsin started negotiations for START III, which would have made significant cuts in the number of weapons and eliminated weapons with multiple independently targeted warheads. The draft treaty had mechanisms for verifying that weapons had been destroyed and ensuring transparency regarding stockpiles, and it had unlimited duration.

In 2001–2002 Bush declared his intent to develop a missile defense system and withdrew from the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty of 1972. President Putin then termi-

nated START III negotiations and declared START II dead as well. Both countries could now rebuild their nuclear arsenals.

At the same time, Bush and Putin were negotiating the Strategic Offensive Reductions Treaty, which limits the number of deployed offensive nuclear weapons to between 1700 and 2200, a goal the Bush administration says it intends to reach within a decade. Currently the U.S. has a stockpile of 10,700 strategic warheads, of which 6500 are deployed. This treaty is not an adequate replacement for START III or II; no weapons or delivery systems are ac-

With its aggressive nuclear policy and its willingness to use its massive stockpiles of nuclear weapons, the U.S. has been transformed from a voice for nuclear deterrence to a threat to the rest of the world.

tually destroyed; non-deployed weapons are kept in reserve and can be reactivated quickly; there is no mechanism for verification; and there is no timetable for implementation.

First Strike Policy

Initiating a nuclear attack had never been part of an overall U.S. policy, although it has been asserted as a threat in specific situations. In 1978 President Carter asserted that nuclear weapons were not to be used against non-nuclear states unless they fought alongside a nuclear state or defied the Non-Proliferation Treaty. The first President Bush hinted at using nuclear

weapons during the first Gulf War if Iraq used chemical or biological weapons, and in 1993 the Joint Chiefs of Staff issued a document describing the use of nuclear weapons in response to attacks involving "weapons of mass destruction." In 1995 the United States, along with the four other major nuclear powers, reiterated the Carter administration's pledge against nuclear strikes on non-nuclear countries, but left loopholes that could allow the U.S. to strike first in limited situations.

This modestly restrained policy changed with the Bush administration's Nuclear Posture Review of 2001. This administration is prepared to use nuclear weapons as part of a preemptive strategy to prevent the possibility of an attack by weapons of mass destruction. The UN supports only the concept of preventing an imminent attack. The Bush administration has adopted an explicit policy of responding to chemical or biological attack with nuclear weapons. This policy blurs the line between nuclear weapons and chemical or biological weapons and makes it clear that nuclear weapons can be used against non-nuclear states.

The Nuclear Posture Review of 2001 also advocates developing and using tactical nuclear weapons and Earth Penetrating Weapons ("bunker busters") against conventional forces. This is a radical shift in nuclear posture away from deterrence. We are now prepared to fight a war using nuclear weapons to deter aggression, coerce compliance, and limit damage the enemy can inflict—in the administration's words, to "dissuade, deter, and defeat."

Developing New Weapons

The Bush administration intends to

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A World Transformed

(Continued from page 4)

destroyed the precedent of international response to aggression that we hoped to establish. Had we gone the invasion route, the United States could conceivably still be an occupying power in a bitterly hostile

land. It would have been a dramatically different—and perhaps barren—outcome."

George Herbert Walker Bush and Brent Scowcroft, *A World Transformed*, 1998

George H. W. Bush, the current President's father, was Director of the CIA from 1976–1977 and the 41st president from 1989–1993. Brent Scowcroft was the National Security advisor to the first President Bush.

Militarism in America

(Continued from page 1)

comparable to that wrought during the Reagan administration at the height of the Cold War. Then thousands of Soviet missiles were targeting the USA, threatening our very survival. It would be a mistake to suggest that Bush is the only proponent of a profligate Pentagon. Not a single Democrat on the Congressional Appropriations Committee dared to object to the government's latest request. Resembling the Supreme Soviet, the U.S. Senate approved the military budget by a vote of 98 to 0. This staggering allocation of resources confronts little criticism, or even comment in the American media. Under conditions of pressing social needs at home and with no substantial military antagonist abroad, congressional Democrats, the intellectual classes, and the American media all support this vast military-police buildup sanctioned by purported claims of "war on terrorism."

From 1968 to 1977, the then newly emerging German democratic state faced a decade of terror from the destructive Baader Meinhoff gang. Yet Germany did not resort to war, or bomb their hideaways. By raising public opprobrium and by effective police action, the terrorists were isolated and defeated. A similar fate was visited on the Red Brigades of Italy and on the IRA of Northern Ireland. The British did not bomb Belfast. Nor did any of the three countries exploit terrorism to justify inflating military spending or arouse public fear for political advantage.

Another aspect deserves attention, namely the fact that American military power peppers the globe. In a prior age, expansion of empire could be counted by the number of lands colonized. America's version of the colony is the military base. These have grown so numerous that even the military is uncertain of their exact number. The Pentagon currently owns or rents about 700 overseas bases in 130 countries on every continent and has another 6,000 bases in the United States and its territories. To dominate the oceans and seas of the world, the Pentagon has created 12 naval task forces built around aircraft carriers. A single such carrier group has sufficient might to challenge any existing sea power.

The number of bases is about to expand. To implement President Bush's preventive war strategy against "rogue states," "bad guys," and "evil-doers," the military is readying to wage war in every corner of the globe, from Central Asia to Latin America, from Africa to China. Many new bases are being planned, including at least four and perhaps as many as eight permanent ones in Iraq.

When asked how long U.S. troops might remain in Iraq, General Jay Garner, Iraq's first viceroy, replied, "I hope they're there a long time." Garner added, "Look back on the Philippines around the turn of the 20th century: they were a coaling station for the navy, and that allowed us to keep a great presence in the Pacific. That's what Iraq is for the next few decades: our

One...outcome to America's escalating militarization will be growing uncontrolled acts of terrorism—an invariable response of the weak when confronting overwhelming might...

coaling station that gives us great presence in the Middle East." It needs to be recalled that U.S. military bases remained in the Philippines for nearly a century, from 1898 to 1992.

The American military refers to an "arc of instability" said to run from the Andean region of South America, through North Africa, sweeping across the Middle East, to the Philippines and Indonesia. This is more or less identical with what used to be called the Third World—and, perhaps no less crucially, it covers the world's key oil reserves.

Bases are only one way of projecting power. Allies will become less important as new generation of weapons now coming off the drawing boards enables America to

strike anywhere from its own territory with U.S.-based missiles having global reach. The program is code-named FALCON (Force Application and Launch from the Continental U.S.). In Orwellian jargon of the Pentagon, the program aims to fulfill "the government's vision of an ultimate prompt global reach capability" striking targets 9,000 nautical miles distant in less than two hours. It is a comforting thought that bases may no longer be required to blow up someone on the other side of the world.

The United States Space Command has proclaimed a doctrine of "full-spectrum dominance," involving a combination of global surveillance, missile defense, and space-based strike capabilities that would enable the United States to undertake effective preemption anywhere in the world and would deny similar capability to any other country. This strategy opens a Pandora's box of adventurism. Under such a rubric military action can be justified anywhere, any time.

A number of countries, China in particular, has pushed for an agreement to prevent an arms race in space. The U.S. has ignored these approaches.... Preemption is forcing China into an arms race it does not want. We are in effect chilling the climate to promote the next cold war. Necessarily, China will increase its nuclear deterrent capabilities, with the possibility of a nightmare repeat of open-ended nuclear escalation.

It is the very nature of any burgeoning military establishment to justify its existence by engaging in military adventures. These are invariably fraught with unintended consequences. One indubitable outcome to America's escalating militarization will be growing uncontrolled acts of terrorism—an invariable response of the weak when confronting overwhelming might, as well as nuclear proliferation. Indeed, nuclear proliferation is on the rise, according to Mohamed Elbaradei, director general of the International Atomic Energy Commission, the most knowledgeable authority on nuclear issues.

As a physician involved in antinuclear struggles for nearly a half a century, I am intimately aware that during the Cold War

(Continued on page 7)

Satire

An Iraqi Free State

by Charles Knight

The neocons are a tenacious bunch. Last week I got together with an old college roommate who grew up to become a neocon insider in Washington. On the way to meet him I practiced my nuanced "I told you so" lines in anticipation that he would be anxious and vulnerable about the great project unfolding and apparently collapsing in Iraq. Instead he was positively glowing and enthusiastic about the future.

He told me he had just returned from a high-level weekend retreat at a location near Washington that he could not disclose. In the course of a single day they had gone from "very troubling" assessments of the prospects for the new Interim Government to detailing an "entirely new program for freedom" in Iraq. Somewhat dubious, I asked him what this could be. Earnestly he proceeded to outline the new plan.

First he reminded me that the Bush administration believes that "government is a bad way to do anything worthwhile" and that the policy in Iraq has been to privatize as many functions as possible.

The big new idea coming out of the weekend retreat was to privatize the whole affair. The Iraqis don't seem to be too keen on the democratic way we want to show them, so why not just dispense with the Iraqi government idea all together?

When, as expected, the new Iraqi government body collapses in failure later this year the U.S. will declare the new Iraq corporation modeled after the Congo Free

State owned privately for thirty years by King Leopold II of Belgium in the late 19th Century. Secretary Rumsfeld, working closely with the Vice President's office, will put together a consortium of multinational corporations to invest in, run, and make profitable the Iraq Free State, Inc. "We've been criticized for unilateralism," he said, "but this will involve multinational corporations. You can't fault that."

"Look," my friend continued, "everyone knows that Iraq was cobbled together by the Brits and isn't a nation state in any true sense. Our corporate model will avoid all the problems of getting Kurds, Sunnis, and Shiites to work together in a national government. We'll just appoint a board of directors, reserving a couple spots for prominent native Iraqis. Leave the day to day stuff to the CEO who could come over from any of the major corporations doing business in Iraq already."

"Between you and me," he went on, "the only important parts of the Iraqi economy are the natural resources and some agriculture along the river banks. The rest of the place, well forget it! Oh, I almost forgot, the Iraq Free State, Inc. will make some real good money from leasing bases to the U.S. military. With any luck in a few years the company can go public and the principals should be a position to become truly rich."

"But Iraq has population of 25 million," I protested, "and the business you have described would at best only employ a few hundred thousand."

"Yes that is a problem," he admitted, "and it took several hours at the retreat to come up with an answer. Many Iraqis actually prefer Arab tribal life to the modern market economy we have in mind, so we are thinking of declaring large parts of the desert 'Arab Reserves' where Iraqis who don't work for the company can pursue their traditional nomadic customs. In ten years or so these areas might even become a tourist attraction providing investors another profit center — imagine camel rides and resorts with luxury air-conditioned tents surrounding large 'blue oasis' pools."

"Besides, a corporate structure makes it much easier to deal with recalcitrant characters and dead-enders. You just give them a pink slip and tell them to get off the property."

"Have you briefed the president on this yet?" I asked.

"Yes, I'm pretty sure he'll buy in. He said he really liked the sound of the 'free state thing'; that it went really well with his big freedom theme."

"Oh, one other thing," he said as we parted, "The Israelis are really excited about the idea. How does 'Palestine Free State' sound?"

<http://www.progressivetrail.org/articles/040604Knight.shtml>

Charles Knight lives in Newton and is the co-director of the Project on Defense Alternatives at the Commonwealth Institute.

Militarism in America

(Continued from page 6)

the world came perilously close to self-destruction. Next time we may not be so lucky. It is therefore imperative for Americans to retire Bush and his coterie of right-wing ideologues from power. Already the evils wrought globally will take generations to undo. Thomas Jefferson reflected "I tremble in my soul for my country when I remember that God is just." While a Demo-

cratic party in the White House will not curtail American militarism, it will provide an opportunity for struggle, a perch in the long upward climb to a peaceful world order.

Bernard Lown, M.D. is Founder, Lown Cardiovascular Center and Lown Cardiovascular Research Foundation, Professor Emeritus Cardiology School of Public

Health, Senior Physician, Brigham and Women's Hospital, founder, International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War.

See <http://www.ippnw.org/Lown.html> for acceptance speech delivered by Dr. Bernard Lown on the occasion of the awarding of the 1985 Nobel Peace Prize to the International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War

United States Nuclear Weapons Policy Raises the Risks of Mass Destruction

(Continued from page 5)

develop low-yield (less than 5 kiloton) nuclear warheads, which Congress prohibited in 1994. The administration contends that Robust Nuclear Earth Penetrators ("bunker busters") are needed to burrow into the earth to destroy hardened underground targets that may contain weapons of mass destruction. These bombs will use nuclear warheads that have 70 times the destructive power of the bombs that fell on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The administration says there is no danger from radioactive fallout because the explosion will occur underground, a highly debatable assertion.

The administration has obtained funding authorization for an increase in nuclear weapons development from \$4.2 billion, its peak at the height of Cold War, to \$6.5 billion currently and \$36 billion over the next five years. Although the Bush administration claims that it is not developing new weapons, the projected date of deployment is 2020. These plans increase the risk that other countries will develop tactical nuclear weapons for battlefield use.

Abrogating the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty

Under U.S. leadership, the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty was opened for signature by other nations in 1996 and signed by 41 of the 44 states required to make it a treaty in force. The U.S. Senate refused to ratify it in 1999. Nonetheless, the Clinton administration continued the moratorium on testing established in 1992. The current Bush administration would like to reverse the moratorium and has asked Congress for funds to resume testing.

Ignoring the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty

The U.S. is signatory to the Nuclear

Non-Proliferation Treaty, which states that "all countries agree to negotiations in good faith to end the nuclear arms race and achieve nuclear disarmament under international control." The five major nuclear powers agreed to forgo developing and acquiring new nuclear weapons. The current U.S. nuclear weapons position violates this goal in every respect. The U.S. has sent a message that nuclear weapons are part of the overall strategy for U.S. security, and therefore it is acceptable for us to have them, develop new ones, and use them in conventional conflicts. This message sets a dangerous precedent for other nations to do the same.

These policies increase the risk that other nations will attempt to develop or acquire nuclear weapons. As a result, the world has become significantly more dangerous. With its aggressive nuclear policy and its willingness to use its massive stockpiles of nuclear weapons, the U.S. has been transformed from a voice for nuclear deterrence to a threat to the rest of the world. We are the only nation ever to have used nuclear weapons. The terror inflicted on Hiroshima and Nagasaki and the horror that engendered has influenced world opinion to ensure that nuclear weapons are never used again. The Bush administration, in its preoccupation with fighting terrorism, is at risk of repeating this horror.

Sources:

Toward Nuclear Sanity: A Response to

"Differentiation and Defense: An Agenda for the Nuclear Weapons Program," by J. Bridgeman, M. Butcher, et al., available on www.wand.org

"What wrongs our arms may do: The role of nuclear weapons in counter proliferation," by Martin Butcher, PSR Publications, 2003, available at www.psr.org

The Union of Concerned Scientists website www.ucsusa.org

The Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists www.thebulletin.org

The Bush Administration's Nuclear Weapons Policy: A double standard with lethal implications, by Joseph Gerson and Adam Miles. American Friends Service Committee, 2003.

Special Briefing on the Nuclear Posture Review, by J. D. Crouch et al., Department of Defense news briefing 9 January 2002.

The Nuclear Posture Review: Reading between the lines, by Michael Ciarrocca. Common Dreams, 17 January 2002, www.commondreams.org

Treaty on Strategic Offensive Reductions: Status, Comments, Expert Opinions... www.armscontrol.ru/start/sort.htm

Friends Committee on National Legislation www.fcni.org

Dan Shaw, a longtime member of Newton Dialogues, is a psychiatrist, teacher, and musician.

Democracy Now

For outstanding coverage of international events, tune in to the *Democracy Now* program on cable channel 10 in Newton (Comcast or RCN), 8:00-9:00 a.m., or WZBC (90.3 MHz), noon-1:00 p.m.

Newton Dialogues on Peace and War

Dedicated to democratic dialogue and discussion.

We oppose militarism and unilateral, preventive wars.

We support cooperative security strategies through the United Nations.

We oppose unwise, unjust tax cuts and support a just economy that provides support for education, health care and the environment.

We oppose the USA PATRIOT Act and support the protection of our cherished civil rights and liberties.

What can you do?

- Check our Web site for information and events: www.newtondialog.org.
- Join our mailing list by writing to univ@comcast.net or P.O. Box 610395, Newton, MA 02461.
- Join our weekly vigil — every Thursday, 5 to 6 p.m., corner of Beacon and Centre Streets, Newton Center.
- Join our monthly meetings: usually held at 7:30, second Sunday every month, Eliot Church, 474 Centre Street, Newton Center.

2002
95A

A Talk By
Father Robert Drinan

Reflections On
America's Response
to the
September 11 Attacks

Wednesday, March 13, 7:00PM
Newton Free Library

Sponsored by
Newton Dialogues on Peace and War
and the Newton Free Library

Robert Drinan is Professor of law at Georgetown University Law Center and was formerly Dean of Boston College Law School. From 1971 – 1981, Father Drinan represented Newton as the member of U.S. House of Representatives from Massachusetts' 4th Congressional District.

Newton Dialogues on Peace and War is a citizens' group dedicated to democratic dialogue and the goals of peace and justice. We seek peaceful, internationalist responses to terrorism and other pressing global problems. If you are interested in learning more about this group or taking part in its discussions, please call 617-964-5707.

DRINAN
3/02

2002
96A

Pathways to Peace in the Middle East

A Panel Discussion With

Elaine Hagopian

Alice Rothchild

Martin Federman

Wednesday, July 10, 7:00 P.M.

Newton Free Library

Sponsored by

**Newton Dialogues on Peace and War
and the Newton Free Library**

Newton Dialogues on Peace and War is a citizens' group dedicated to democratic dialogue and the goals of peace and justice. We seek peaceful, internationalist responses to terrorism and other pressing global problems. If you are interested in learning more about this group or taking part in its discussions, please call 617-373-4169.

2002

97A

Why War? Why Iraq? Why Now?

An Open Meeting With
Congressman
Barney Frank

Wednesday, November 6, 7:30PM

Brown Middle School

125 Meadowbrook Road, Newton Center

Sponsored by

Newton Dialogues on Peace and War

&

The Newton Democratic City Committee

Directions: Take Parker Street out of Newton Centre toward Dedham Street. You will cross over Rt. 9 and continue about ½ mile to a traffic light at Wheeler Road. Make a left onto Wheeler Road. Brown Middle School will be facing you at the end of Wheeler Road.

For more information on *Newton Dialogues on Peace and War*, write to Box 610395, Newton, MA 02461 or see the group's website at <http://newtondialog.home.attbi.com>.

2003

98A

Alternatives to War In Iraq & Beyond

A talk by

Randall Forsberg

Director, Institute for
Defense & Disarmament Studies
2002 Peace Candidate for US Senate

Thursday, January 23, 7:30PM

Oak Hill Middle School

130 Wheeler Road, Newton Center

Sponsored by

Newton Dialogues on Peace & War

In cooperation with *Brookline Peaceworks*

Directions: Take Parker Street out of Newton Centre toward Rt. 9. After crossing over Rt. 9, continue about ½ mile to a traffic light at Wheeler Road. Turn left onto Wheeler Road. Oak Hill Middle School is on the left as you approach the end of Wheeler Road. **Parking:** Directly across from Oak Hill School there is a lot on the right. To get into the parking lot, go to the end of Wheeler Road, turn right, and the entrance to the lot will be on the right. There is additional parking behind the school itself.

For more information on *Newton Dialogues on Peace and War*, see the group's website at <http://newtondialog.home.attbi.com> or write to Box 610395, Newton, MA 02461.

2003
99A

Newton Dialogues on Peace and War

Join us for a talk by

Dr. Bernard Lown

on

The Growing
Nuclear Threat—
Lessons from 40 Years
Of Peace Activism

Sunday, March 9, 7:30 P.M.

Eliot Church

474 Centre Street, Newton Corner

Bernard Lown, a physician and longtime Newton resident, is the co-founder of both Physicians for Social Responsibility and International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War. In 1985, International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize. More information about the group can be found at <http://www.ippnw.org>.

Directions: The Eliot Church is located at the corner of Centre Street and Church Street in Newton Corner.

For more information, see the *Newton Dialogues on Peace and War* web site at <http://newtondialog.home.attbi.com> or call 617-964-5707.

Lown
3/03

2003

100A

THE USA PATRIOT ACT:

*It's Neither American
Nor Patriotic*

**Talk by Nancy Murray,
Director, Bill of Rights Education Project
ACLU of Massachusetts**

Tuesday, April 15, 7:00 PM

**Newton Free Library
330 Homer Street**

**Sponsored by
Newton Dialogues on Peace and War**

**P.O. Box 610395
Newton, MA 02461**

<http://newtondialog.home.attbi.com>

For Immediate Release

News Release
2003

Newton Dialogues on Peace and War Sponsors Nancy Murray Talk:

"The USA Patriot Act—It's Neither American Nor Patriotic"

10/A0

Nancy Murray will speak on "The USA Patriot Act: It's Neither American Nor Patriotic" on Tuesday, April 15, at 7:30 P.M. in the Newton Free Library auditorium.

Nancy Murray is the Director of the Massachusetts Civil Liberties Union Bill of Rights Education Project. She holds degrees from Harvard University and a doctorate from Oxford University. Prior to becoming Director of the Bill of Rights Education project in 1987, she taught for seven years at the University of Nairobi and later directed a nation-wide anti-racism program at the London Institute of Race Relations. As director of the Bill of Rights Education Project, she works with teachers, students and the general public to educate people and enable them to work for a future in which civil liberties and civil rights are safeguarded and enlarged.

This event is sponsored by Newton Dialogues on Peace and War, a Newton citizens' group that is working to promote the values of peace and justice through public, democratic discussion of the many challenges currently facing our country.

The talk will be followed by an opportunity for questions and discussion from the audience.

The Newton Free Library is located at 330 Homer Street, at the intersection of Homer Street and Walnut Street.

For more information about Newton Dialogues on Peace and War, please check our web site at <http://newtondialog.home.attbi.com> or write to us at P.O. Box 610395, Newton, MA 02461.

April 15, 2003
Murray - ACCL

**Shallow and Deep Regime
Change:
Transforming the Role
of the U.S. in the World**

**BOB IRWIN, peace activist,
sociologist, author of**

Building a Peace System

Sunday, October 12, at 7:30 P.M.

Eliot Church in Newton Corner

Corner of Centre and Church Streets

Sponsored by

Newton Dialogues on Peace and War

For more information on *Newton Dialogues on Peace and War*,
visit www.newtondialog.org.

**WHY WE ARE IN IRAQ,
QATAR, NORTH KOREA
AND *TROUBLE* AND WHAT
WE CAN DO ABOUT IT.**

**JOE GERSON, Director of
Programs for the New England
office of the American Friends
Service Committee**

Sunday, November 9 at 7:30 P.M.

Eliot Church in Newton Corner

Corner of Centre and Church Streets

Sponsored by

Newton Dialogues on Peace and War

For more information on *Newton Dialogues on Peace and War*,
visit www.newtondialog.org.

2004

104A

GLOBALIZATION 101: An Economist's Overview of the World Economy

**Dr. Ellen Frank, Associate Professor of
Economics, Emmanuel College**

*Co-Sponsored by
the First Unitarian Society of Newton
and
Newton Dialogues on Peace and War*

**Sunday, January 11, at 7:30 P.M.
Eliot Church in Newton Corner**

(Corner of Centre and Church Streets)

For more information on *Newton Dialogues on Peace and War*
visit www.newtondialog.org

1.45A

2004

105A

"THE WAR ON TERROR COMES HOME: BIOWEAPONS RESEARCH IN BOSTON"

Speakers will include:

Eugene Benson, *Attorney,*

Klare Allen, *Director,*

Alternatives for Community and Environment, Roxbury

Jonathan King, Professor of Biology, MIT

SUNDAY APRIL 4

4:00 PM

HYDE COMMUNITY CENTER

90 LINCOLN STREET

NEWTON HIGHLANDS

The war on terrorism is being brought to Boston itself with Boston University's proposal to build a security Level 4 bioweapons research lab in the Roxbury/South End neighborhood. Come hear why Roxbury residents, the workers at the Boston Medical Center and many prominent scientists oppose the lab and how everyone in the area could be affected by the research conducted there. A plan to construct a similar facility was defeated in Davis, California, because of safety concerns and federal secrecy rules that prevented citizen oversight of the lab. Short presentations will be followed by Q and A and discussion.

Sponsored by: Newton Dialogues on Peace and War, First Unitarian Society of Newton Social Action Committee & the Justice with Peace Task Force of Watertown Citizens for Environmental Safety.

**COME AND GET INFORMED ON AN ISSUE OF VITAL IMPORTANCE
FOR EVERYONE IN THE BOSTON AREA.**

THE WAR ON TERRORISM COMES HOME: BIOWEAPONS RESEARCH IN BOSTON

Boston University has received federal approval and funding to construct a Level 4 biological research laboratory in the Roxbury/South End neighborhood. State and Boston city officials, scientists and environmental groups, however, have raised serious objections to the project.

- Level 4 is the highest security designation for biological research and can support the study and weaponization of the most lethal pathogens known to humankind.
- A Level 4 facility is not necessary for research into the biggest global killers, including AIDS/HIV, malaria and tuberculosis.
- Level 4 labs are already located in Atlanta, San Antonio and Ft. Detrick, Maryland, but Boston is different. More than 50,000 people live within a mile of the proposed site and more than one million within ten miles.

Population density per square mile (2000 census)

	<u>Local</u>	<u>County</u>
BU proposed site	16,721	11,788
Atlanta	3,478	2,484
San Antonio	2,592	1,117
Fort Detrick	2,036	294

- The laboratory would be authorized to conduct research on Category A pathogens, which have no known cures. These include anthrax, tularemia, plague, botulism, Ebola and other viral hemorrhagic fevers.
- Accidents have happened at other Level 4 laboratories and pathogens released into the local environment. Under federal law, the facilities are under no obligation to inform the public of such events.
- A Level 4 lab could be a prime target for terrorists seeking to release lethal biological agents in the Boston area.
- Public oversight of the lab may be impossible. As a federally funded bioweapons research site, federal gag rules may apply to all researchers.
- In 2003, a proposal to construct a Level 4 lab was defeated in Davis, California. Why should Boston be different?

For more information visit www.ace-ej.org, www.gene-watch.org, and www.city.davis.ca.us/story/?story=biolab.

2004

“AFTERMATH: BOSNIA’S LONG ROAD TO PEACE”

106A
107A

In a powerful slide show
Sara Terry, award-winning photojournalist,
explores the consequences of war. “...The
media must ... [document] what happens
after the guns and bombs and madness of
violence have finally been stilled.”

Visit: www.saraterry.com

Monday, May 3 at 7:00 P.M.

**Newton Free Library
330 Homer Street, Newton**

**Sponsored by the Newton Free Public Library and by
Newton Dialogues on Peace and War**

For more information on *Newton Dialogues on Peace and War*,
visit www.newtondialog.org.

2004
108A

“AN ALTERNATIVE VIEW FROM KURDISTAN AND IRAQ”

A talk by Ms. Grey Osterud

Ms. Osterud is editing a book of essays by political scientists, historians, anthropologists and diplomats from Kurdistan, Iraq, and many other countries. She brings information to this talk that is not readily available to most of us.

Please join us!

**Sunday, June 13 at 7:30 P.M.
Eliot Church, 474 Centre Street, Newton Corner
Newton Dialogues on Peace and War**

For more information on *Newton Dialogues on Peace and War*, visit
www.newtondialog.org.

2004

Newton Dialogues on Peace & War

www.newtondialog.org

109A

TWO SPECIAL EVENTS

TO COMMEMORATE THE BOMBINGS OF HIROSHIMA AND NAGASAKI

Saturday, August 7, 2004, 11 a.m.

HIROSHIMA-NAGASAKI Remembrance: The Risk Remains

Place: Newton Centre Green, Centre Street and Beacon.

We will be gathering to recall and commemorate the horror inflicted on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and to floodlight the opaque nuclear agenda of the Bush administration. Since Bush took office the "Doomsday Clock" has moved from 9 minutes to midnight to 7 minutes to midnight.

We will gather on the green in a circle and after a short period of meditative silence each person will have an opportunity to speak briefly. We will also be singing together to raise a joyful noise. There will be an informational table with a petition and displays about nuclear war and nuclear danger.

Sunday, August 8, 2004, 7:30 p.m.

Eliot Church, Centre Street, Newton Corner

Newton Dialogues Monthly Meeting

REMEMBERING THE ATOMIC BOMBINGS OF AUGUST 1945

The atomic bombings of 1945 remain cataclysmic events in the history of Japan, the United States, and the rest of the world. Our monthly meeting will be devoted to commemorating these events, learning more about them, and considering their contemporary significance.

The program will include:

**** "Hiroshima: The Legacy,"** a Japanese film about the bombing of Hiroshima and the museum that is dedicated to its remembrance.

**** "Thinking about the Bomb from Sixty Years On,"** a talk, by Professor Gerald Herman, a historian at Northeastern University.

Professor Herman is a founding member of the National Council on Public History and the Film and Electronic Media Reviews Editor for *The Public Historian*. He has written and produced award winning television, radio, and CD ROM based historical programs.

**** Time for discussion and reflection.**

2007

110A

NAOMI CHASAN

**Former member, Israeli Knesset,
Professor Emerita, The Hebrew
University**

“THE ISRAEL-PALESTINE CONFLICT:

WHAT SHOULD THE NEXT U.S. PRESIDENT DO?”

Monday, October 4, at 7:00 P.M.

Newton Free Library, Newton

330 Homer Street, Newton Center

Sponsored by Newton Dialogues on Peace and War

For more information on *Newton Dialogues on Peace and War*,
visit www.newtondialog.org.

2004

111A

*“Post Election: Where
Do We Go From
Here?”*

An Open Meeting With
Congressman
Barney Frank

**Sunday, November 14, 7:30PM
Eliot Church in Newton Corner**

474 Centre Street/Corner of Church Street

Sponsored by
Newton Dialogues on Peace and War

For more information on *Newton Dialogues on Peace and War*, write to
Box 610395, Newton, MA 02461. www.newtondialog.org.

2004

112A

“WHAT TIME IS IT FOR THE PEACE MOVEMENT?”

Mike Prokosch and Cynthia Peters, of United for Justice with Peace, will conduct a discussion and workshop on the future of the peace movement. UJP is the umbrella group for peace groups in the Boston area. It has done a tremendous job in mobilizing groups around a variety of issues that concern us at this time.

SUNDAY, DECEMBER 12, 2004

7:30 P.M.

ELIOT CHURCH, NEWTON CORNER

Newton Dialogues on Peace and War

For more information on *Newton Dialogues on Peace and War*,
visit www.newtondialog.org.

2005
113A

“THE GREAT RELIGIOUS DIVIDE”

*Rev. John Buehrens of the
First Parish in Needham will
address the political-religious
crisis dividing our nation.*

**Sunday, January 9, at 7:30 P.M.
Eliot Church in Newton Corner**

**Corner of Centre and Church Streets
Sponsored by
Newton Dialogues on Peace and War**

For more information on *Newton Dialogues on Peace and War*,
visit www.newtondialog.org.

IRAQI WAR VETERANS SPEAK OUT

*Two veterans of the Iraq war
call for U.S. withdrawal. Come
and hear them*

**Friday, February 4
7:00 P.M.**

**St. John's Methodist Church
80 Mt. Auburn Street
Watertown**

*Co-Sponsored by several local peace groups, including,
Newton Dialogues on Peace and War
www.newtondialog.org*

“BEING MUSLIM IN AMERICA”

Please join us as we welcome our Muslim neighbors for a discussion of issues to do with Islamic faith and practices, as well time for questions and socializing.

*What does it mean to be
Muslim in America?*

Sunday, September 11, at 7:30 P.M.

Eliot Church in Newton Corner

Corner of Centre and Church Streets

Newton Dialogues on Peace and War

For more information on *Newton Dialogues on Peace and War*, visit www.newtondialog.org.

DR. LYNN KLOTZ

**Expert in biological weapons and
biotechnology will speak on:**

***“IS U.S. BIODEFENSE
POLICY MAKING US
SAFER?”***

Sunday, February 13, at 7:30 P.M.

**Eliot Church, 474 Centre Street
Newton Corner**

Sponsored by Newton Dialogues on Peace and War

For more information on *Newton Dialogues on Peace and War*,
visit www.newtondialog.org.

A DECLARATION OF MORAL OUTRAGE

**A new initiative in the struggle for peace and
justice in Iraq**

Sunday, March 13 7:30 pm

Eliot Church

corner of Centre and Church Streets, Newton Corner

Join us for an evening of discussion and activism. Help us launch the **Declaration of Moral Outrage**, a statement expressing our personal and collective outrage at the Bush Administration's immoral, illegal, ill-conceived, destructive, and costly invasion and protracted war of occupation in Iraq.

The purpose of the meeting is to engage our neighbors and fellow citizens in the process of spreading a Declaration of Moral Outrage across the country and around the world. Members of Newton Dialogues on Peace and War will discuss the goals and development of the Declaration of Moral Outrage, share our plans to post and publicize the DOMO in public places, and work with participants to disseminate a Declaration of Moral Outrage throughout our personal networks, organizations, and communities.

Military Recruiting in the Public Schools

What are the rights of students
and parents?

What you need to know.

Bill Sweet from the American
Friends Service Committee

Sunday, October 16 at 7:30 P.M.

Eliot Church in Newton Corner

Corner of Centre and Church Streets

Sponsored by

Newton Dialogues on Peace and War

For more information on *Newton Dialogues on Peace and War*,
visit www.newtondialog.org.

2005
119A
112
+

The proliferation of WMD accelerates the need for international law to protect humanity. Please come join a public discussion. of these issues.

WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION AND INTERNATIONAL LAW

MICHAEL F. DONLAN,
author of *Weapons of Mass Destruction*
and *Public International Law*

Sunday, November 13, at 7:30 P.M.

Eliot Church in Newton Corner

475 Centre Street

Newton Dialogues on Peace and War

For more information on *Newton Dialogues on Peace and War*,
visit www.newtondialog.org.

2006
120A

**The Massachusetts Health Care
Amendment:**

***“LET’S ESTABLISH A
MANDATE FOR
UNIVERSAL ACCESS”***

**DR. JOHN GOODSON, Co-Chair of the
Health Care Amendment Campaign, will
speak about the proposed Health Care
Amendment to the Massachusetts
Constitution.**

**Sunday, March 12, at 7:30 P.M.
Eliot Church in Newton Corner
Corner of Centre and Church Streets**

Newton Dialogues on Peace and War

For more information on *Newton Dialogues on Peace and War*, visit
www.newtondialog.org.

2006
121A

DR. MICHAEL GRODIN

**Prof. at B.U. School of Public Health
and Director of the Boston Center for
Refugee Health and Human Rights:**

TORTURE AND HUMAN RIGHTS

**Wednesday, March 29,
7:00 P.M.**

Newton Free Library, Newton

330 Homer Street, Newton Center

**Sponsored by the Newton Human Rights
Commission and Newton Dialogues on Peace
and War**

2006
122A
JH
D/A

DOMESTIC SURVEILLANCE:

How It Affects Our Civil
Liberties

A talk by CARL TAKEI from
the Mass. Civil Liberties Union

Co-Sponsored by Newton Dialogues on
Peace and War and the Newton Human
Rights Commission

Wednesday, June 21, 7 P.M.

**Newton Main Library
330 Homer Street, Newton**

2006
123A

Newton Dialogues on Peace & War

THE CASE FOR IMPEACHING GEORGE W. BUSH

Speaker:

JOHN BONIFAZ

National Voting Rights Institute Founder,
Author, MacArthur Fellowship Winner,
Candidate for Mass. Secretary of State

Sunday, July 9, 7:30 P.M.

Eliot Church

474 Centre Street, Newton Corner

www.newtondialog.org

Crisis in the Middle East

The War Between Israel, Hezbollah, Lebanon, and Palestine

Sunday, September 10, 7:30 p.m.

The Eliot Church, 474 Centre Street (corner of Church St.), Newton Corner

A Panel Discussion Featuring:

- **Anat Biletzki**, Professor of Philosophy at Tel Aviv University. Until recently she was chairperson of the board of *B'Tselem* - the *Israeli Information Center for Human Rights in the Occupied Territories*.
- **Seth Brysk**, Director of the *Israel Action Center* at the *Jewish Community Relations Council of Greater Boston*. A dual American-Israeli citizen, he holds degrees from U.C. Berkeley and Tel Aviv University in International Relations, Conflict Resolution and Middle Eastern Politics.
- **Naila Jirmanus**, is a member of the *Coordinating Committee of United for Justice with Peace*. She is a Lebanese American who just fled from Lebanon as a result of the current crisis.
- **Henry Munson**, Professor of Anthropology at the *University of Maine*. He is the author of *Islam and Revolution in the Middle East* and is currently working on a book entitled *Armies of God: Religion, Nationalism, and Terror*.

2006 125A
Newton Dialogues on Peace & War
www.newtondialog.org

Please Join Us for This Important Program.

THE HUMAN COST OF THE WAR IN IRAQ: A Report on the Iraq Mortality Study

A talk by

JOHN TIRMAN

Executive Director
MIT Center for International Studies

Sunday, December 10, 7:30 p.m.

Eliot Church

Corner of Centre Street and Church Street, Newton Corner

As Director of the Center for International Studies at MIT, John Tirman started the Persian Gulf Initiative, which recently produced the Iraq Mortality Study. This study found that over 600,000 Iraqi civilians have died as a result of the war in Iraq.

For the report, see http://web.mit.edu/cis/pdf/Human_Cost_of_War.pdf.

John Tirman is the author, coauthor or editor of ten books on international affairs, including *The Human Cost of America's Arms Trade* (1997), and most recently, *100 Ways America is Screwing up the World* (Harper Perennial, 2006). He has also published more than 100 articles in periodicals such as the *New York Times*, *Washington Post*, *World Policy Journal*, *The Nation*, *Wall Street Journal*, and *International Herald Tribune*.

From 1986 to 1999, Mr. Tirman was executive director of the Winston Foundation for World Peace, which funds projects to prevent nuclear war and promote the non-violent resolution of conflict.

Town Meeting

THE WAR IN IRAQ:

What Now?

The U.S. invaded Iraq with no provocation.

The war has devastated Iraq, causing the deaths of over 3000 American soldiers and over 600,000 Iraqi citizens. Violence continues to escalate. WHAT IS TO BE DONE?

Please join us to discuss the issues facing our country. The November elections, the Newton referendum on the war, and the Iraq Study Group all call for new policies. *HOW CAN WE MAKE CHANGE HAPPEN?*

Join Us!

Sunday, January 14, 7:30 p.m.

Eliot Church, 474 Centre Street, Newton Corner
Newton Dialogues on Peace and War

www.newtondialog.org

PRESERVING DEMOCRACY:

***THE FIGHT TO MAKE SURE
EVERY VOTE COUNTS***

Join Newton Dialogues on Peace and War for a panel discussion of the threat to our citizens' trust of the process of U.S. elections.

Speakers: *John Bonifaz*, 2006 Democratic candidate for Secretary of State and *Aitya Dangleben* from Mass Vote.

This program is co-sponsored by the Newton Chapter of Progressive Democrats, Newton Ward 5 Democrats, and the Newton Chapter of Democracy for America.

**Sunday, February 11, 7:30 P.M.
Eliot Church, 434 Centre Street
Newton Corner**

2007
128A

Newton Dialogues on Peace and War

Reclaiming Our Civil Liberties

Please join us for a talk by Nancy Murray, the
Director of Education for the ACLU of
Massachusetts.

USA Patriot Act 2001
Military Commissions Act 2006

**HOW CAN WE GET OUR
CIVIL LIBERTIES BACK?**

Join Us!

Sunday, March 11, 7:30 p.m.

Eliot Church, 474 Centre Street, Newton Corner

www.newtondialog.org

Newton Dialogues on Peace & War presents:

WHAT'S HAPPENING AT GUANTANAMO?

Why Should We Care?

Talk by Attorneys Doris Tennant and Ellen Lubell

Newton lawyers Doris Tennant and Ellen Lubell are *pro bono* representing a Guantanamo detainee who has been held for five years without charges. They have just returned from their first visit there.

Wednesday, April 4, 7 P.M.

**Newton Main Library
330 Homer Street, Newton**

Note: Due to Easter, there will be no meeting of Newton Dialogues that Sunday.

138A
2004

**Newton Dialogues
on Peace & War**

presents:~

UNCOVERED: **the** **whole truth** **about** **the Iraq war**

**The story of how truth became
the first American casualty in Iraq**

**Thursday March 4
7:30 pm**

West Newton Cinema
1296 Washington Street, West Newton

The film will present interviews with more than 20 experts, all of whom have informed opinions about the reasons we were given for war and the evidence presented to support those reasons. Some supported the war itself but are deeply concerned about the way information was misused. All believe it is their duty to speak up.

Among those interviewed are former Ambassador Joe Wilson, weapons inspectors Scott Ritter and David Albright, anti-terrorism expert Rand Beers, former CIA analyst Ray McGovern, former CIA operative Robert Baer and Washington editor of The Nation, David Corn.

Martin Sheen: "A powerful documentary. A must see for anyone interested in the truth about what's going on in Iraq."

Donations to Newton Dialogues on Peace and War are welcome and may be made when you arrive at the theater.

For further information, visit our website: www.newtondialog.org



131A
2

Newton Dialogues Presents
Uncovered:
The Whole Truth About The Iraq War
The Story of How Truth Became
The First Casualty In Iraq

Producer/Director
Robert Greenwald

Thursday, March 4
West Newton Theatre
7:00 P.M.

2004

Donation at the door.

You are welcome to stay for a discussion following the screening.

AL FRANKEN ON UNCOVERED

"It's one thing for a President to lie about his sex life. It's another to lie about why we are sending our young men and women into battle."

ERROL MORRIS - Filmmaker - The Fog of War

"On a daily basis we, the American public, are exposed to unending administration Insanities: fear mongering, the reduction of foreign policy to a bad video game, an exhausting audio-visual parade of lies and self-deceptions. Robert Greenwald's film is a welcome antidote. It sets an example of what a concerned and committed citizen can do. Speak truth to power."

"KATRINA VAN DEN HEUVEL editor of The Nation

"The film is a compelling call to action in 2004 and must-see viewing for all citizens who care about changing the direction of our security policy, and our country's leadership."

MARTIN SHEEN "A powerful documentary. A must see for anyone interested in the truth about what's going on in Iraq"

MIKE FARRELL actor and activist, co founder Artists United

"George Orwell once warned that "in universal deceit, telling the truth becomes a revolutionary act." That being so, we are all called to become revolutionary truth-tellers and Robert Greenwald leads the way. "Uncovered," by exposing the rot at the roots of political power in Washington, has created a document of the most profound patriotism. In laying bare the lies of an American administration bent on gaining, maintaining and abusing power through deceit, the film arms our citizens with the weapons necessary to take back their democracy."

<http://www.newtondialog.org/>

Truth Uncovered

This controversial and arresting film takes you behind the walls of government, as CIA, Pentagon and foreign service experts speak out, many for the first time, detailing the lies, misstatements and exaggerations that served as the reasons to fight a "preemptive" war that wasn't necessary. This documentary offers an in-depth look at the unsettling distortion of intelligence and the "spin and hype" presented to the American people, the Congress and the press. Fighting wars to bring about regime change is in breach of international law. Yet, throughout the fall of 2002, and into the weeks preceding the war in Iraq, the Bush administration systematically distorted intelligence evidence and misled the public in order to turn opinion favor of "regime change" in Iraq.

The film will present interviews with more than 20 experts, all of whom have informed opinions about the reasons we were given for war and the evidence presented to support those reasons. Some supported the war itself but are deeply concerned about the way information was misused. All believe it is their duty to speak up.

Among those interviewed are former Ambassador Joe Wilson, weapons inspectors Scott Ritter and David Albright, anti-terrorism expert Rand Beers, former CIA analyst Ray McGovern, former CIA operative Robert Baer and Washington editor of The Nation, David Corn.

The movie, which has been described as part documentary, part political ad, doesn't break new ground. It is very good, however, at juxtaposing clips of Bush, Cheney, Rumsfeld, Rice, Wolfowitz and company making outrageous statements about imminent threats from Iraqi chemical and nuclear weapons and following them with interviews with diplomats and spies who show conclusively that the administration had to know it was lying. In these days of Ashcroft justice, that's entertainment.

GEORGE W. BUSH

The danger to our country is grave. The danger to our country is growing. The Iraqi regime possesses biological and chemical weapons. The Iraqi regime is building the facilities necessary to make more biological and chemical weapons. And according to the British government the Iraqi regime could launch a biological or chemical attack in as little as 45 minutes after the order were given. The regime has longstanding and continuing ties to terrorist organizations and there are Al Qaeda terrorists inside Iraq. The regime is seeking a nuclear bomb and with fisible, fissile material could build one within a year.

MEL GOODMAN

The Bush administration made up its mind to go to war on September the 11th 2001. From that time on you were dealing with rationalization and justification for the war, you weren't dealing with real causes for the war or real reasons for the war. There was never a clear and present danger, there was never an imminent threat.

DAVID CORN

He used weapons, Saddam Hussein did, back in the 1980's when the U.S. administration, the Reagan administration, was actually supporting him and allowing him to import the chemical precursors to that. Donald Rumsfeld actually as the special envoy for Ronald Reagan back in those years helped open the door for better relations between Washington and Baghdad.

2004
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DEFEAT BUSH

SWING STATE FUNDRAISER

for **ACT**

America Coming Together,
the largest progressive group doing
voter registration and voter educa-
tion in 17 swing states, including
New Hampshire, Maine, Pennsylva-
nia, Florida and Ohio, where the
2004 election will be decided.

UNPRECEDENTED

a film documenting the stolen
2000 Presidential election.



Speaker:

Dennis Newman, the New Hampshire Director of
ACT, and Gore's Chief Council in Palm Beach
County, will offer his view of the 2000 election, as well
as talk about ACT's local and national strategy for
electing progressive candidates in 2004

Thursday

MAY 13 7:30 pm

WEST NEWTON CINEMA

1290 WASHINGTON STREET (RTE. 16),
WEST NEWTON

SPONSORS: BROOKLINE PEACEWORKS & NEWTON DIALOGUES ON PEACE AND WAR

CONTACT: Ed Loechler (617-277-6346 loechler@bu.edu)

2005-134A

***Newton Dialogues
On Peace & War***

Presents:

You Can't Be Neutral on a Moving Train

**A Film by Deb Ellis & Denis Mueller
Documenting the life and times of**

HOWARD ZINN

*"It is no exaggeration to say that he has changed the consciousness
of a generation."*

--Noam Chomsky

*"Sharp, incisive and articulate...An important political film that
needs to be seen." – Boston Phoenix*

TUESDAY, JANUARY 25

7:00 P.M.

**West Newton Cinema
1296 Washington Street
West Newton**

After the film showing, Mr. Zinn will speak.

**This showing is a benefit for Newton Dialogues on Peace and
War. See www.newtondialog.org.**

135A
2005

Venezuela: Friend or Foe?

Please join us for a showing of the film

“THE REVOLUTION WILL NOT BE TELEVISED”

A award-winning documentary filmed during the coup attempt against President Hugo Chavez in April 2002.

Speaker: Rev. Mike Clark

Pastor of St. John's Church in Watertown, recently returned from leading his third faith-based delegation to Venezuela.

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 3, 7:00 P.M.

West Newton Cinema

**1290 Washington St. (Rte. 16)
West Newton, MA**

*Sponsored by: Newton Dialogues on Peace and War,
the Justice and Peace Committee of Our Lady Help of Christians
Parish, Brookline Peaceworks, and the Justice with Peace Task Force of
Watertown Citizens for Environmental Safety*

**In 1961, President Eisenhower
warned about the growing influence of
a “military-industrial complex”
on U.S. foreign policy.**

**COME SEE THE FILM THAT
SHOWS HOW RIGHT HE WAS!**

**Newton Dialogues on Peace and War
presents**

“WHY WE FIGHT”

WEDNESDAY, MAY 31, 7:00 P.M.

**That night we will honor Dr. and Mrs. Bernard Lown
in recognition of their tremendous efforts in the area of
international prevention of nuclear war.**

**West Newton Cinema
1290 Washington St. (Rte. 16) West Newton, MA**

For more information go to www.newtondialog.org

2007
Newton Dialogues on Peace and War
proudly presents

137A

“Knowledge is the Beginning”

An inspiring and challenging film
documenting the founding--by Daniel
Barenboim and Edward Said--of an orchestra
made up of young musicians from throughout
the Middle East. *“Music is the language of peace”*

**MONDAY, JUNE 11, 7 P.M.
NEWTON MAIN LIBRARY
330 HOMER STREET**

“A metaphor for what could be achieved there.”

www.newtondialog.org

#343-02

CITY OF NEWTONIN BOARD OF ALDERMEN

November 4, 2002

Whereas, the Honorable Board of Aldermen of the City of Newton believes that restraint and due deliberation are proper and fitting prior to committing our troops to war with Iraq, an action with potentially wide-ranging, dangerous, and largely unpredictable consequences; and,

Whereas, the United States succeeded, in 1991, in liberating the people of Kuwait from invading Iraqi military forces and succeeded, in 2002, in liberating the people of Afghanistan from the Taliban and Al-Quada in part because other nation states, acting in the United Nations and elsewhere, supported and aided American initiatives; and

Whereas, the Honorable Board of Aldermen also believes that the United Nations is the agency of first resort for dealing with issues that are international rather than bilateral in scope; and,

Whereas, the Honorable Board of Aldermen believes that the United Nations must be given the opportunity to establish effective and unfettered inspection teams in Iraq, and

Whereas, the Honorable Board of Aldermen, is mindful of the terrible consequences of war and recognizes that the present government of Iraq uniquely menaces the world order and stability.

NOW, THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED:

That the Honorable Board of Aldermen of this City of Newton hereby calls upon the United Nations to exercise strong leadership in an international effort to disarm Iraq through effective inspections and other appropriate strategies; and,

FURTHER, That the Honorable Board of Aldermen of this City of Newton hereby calls upon our entire Massachusetts Congressional delegation and their colleagues in the United States Senate and House of Representatives and President Bush and his Administration work with the United Nations for the peaceful resolution of this situation, including the removal of any chemical, biological and nuclear weapons or weapon-making materials for said weapons, from Iraq and that only when all non-military options have been thoroughly exhausted should they take or support any action that would cause our country to enter into a war, however necessary, that my produce intolerable casualties to both American and Iraqi citizens, destabilize the region, and possibly provoke the use of the very weapons of mass destruction with which Iraq menaces the world.

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#343-02

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, THAT THE Clerk of the Board be directed to fax official copy of Resolution for immediate distribution to the President of the United States and, when it reconvenes on November 12, 2002, for distribution to the 107th U.S. Congress.

Under Suspension of Rules
Readings Waived and Item APPROVED
20 yeas, 4 nays (Ciccone, Gentile, Lipof, Sangiolo)

SGD EDWARD G. ENGLISH, City Clerk

CITY OF NEWTONIN BOARD OF ALDERMENRESOLUTION RE: USA PATRIOT ACT

August 11, 2003

WHEREAS the City of Newton recognizes the Constitution of the United States as our charter of liberty, and that the Bill of Rights enshrines the fundamental and inalienable rights of Americans, including the freedoms of religion, speech, assembly and privacy; and

WHEREAS each of the City of Newton's duly elected public servants has sworn to defend and uphold the United States Constitution and the Constitution of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts; and

WHEREAS the City of Newton denounces and condemns all acts of terrorism, wherever occurring; and

WHEREAS attacks against Americans such as those that occurred on September 11, 2001, have necessitated the crafting of effective laws to protect the public from terrorist attacks; and

WHEREAS any new security measures of federal, state, and local governments should be carefully designed and employed to enhance public safety without infringing on the civil liberties and rights of innocent citizens of the City of Newton; and

WHEREAS certain provisions of the *Uniting and Strengthening America by Providing Appropriate Tools Required to Intercept and Obstruct Terrorism Act*, also known as the USA PATRIOT Act, allow the federal government more liberally to detain and investigate citizens and engage in surveillance activities that may violate or offend the rights and liberties guaranteed by our state and federal constitutions;

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED THAT:

The Newton Board of Aldermen supports the government of the United States of America in its campaign against terrorism, and affirms its commitment that the campaign NOT be waged at the expense of essential civil rights and liberties of citizens of this country contained in the United States Constitution and the Bill of Rights; and

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The City of Newton requests and urges its delegation in Congress to monitor the implementation of the USA PATRIOT ACT and to seek the repeal (or sustain the sunset where applicable) of those provisions which violate the civil liberties of all, citizen and non-citizen alike, living and working within the City of Newton and elsewhere in the United States and its territorial possessions; and

The Board of Aldermen respectfully requests His Honor the Mayor to instruct city departments and officers to respect the constitutional rights of all people of the City of Newton, including the principles of equality, due process of law, freedom of religion, speech, and association, including privacy and open government; and

The Newton Board of Aldermen implores the United States Congress to correct provisions in the USA PATRIOT Act and other measures that infringe on civil liberties, and it opposes any pending and future federal legislation to the extent that it infringes on Americans' "civil rights and liberties" and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED THAT the Newton Board of Aldermen respectfully requests that the Board of Trustees of the Newton Free Library post public notices in the Library informing all persons –

1. that federal agents are empowered by the USA PATRIOT Act to inspect and copy, and sometimes take, library records which show what patrons have signed out, what web sites they have visited, and with what email addresses they have corresponded; and
2. This federal law prohibits those Library officials from revealing when this has occurred.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED THAT copies of this Resolution be delivered to the Mayor and posted in City buildings and sent to the President of the United States, the Massachusetts Congressional delegation and to the Governor, the Senate President and the Speaker of the House of the Great and General Court of Massachusetts and to the Senator and Representatives therein who represent the people of the City of Newton.

RESOLUTION ADOPTED UNANIMOUSLY

August 11, 2003

Edward G. English, City Clerk

Brooke K. Lipsitt, President

CITY OF NEWTON

IN BOARD OF ALDERMEN

142A

RESOLUTION RE: PROPOSED BIOSAFETY LEVEL 4 LABORARY

June 18, 2007

WHEREAS: The City of Newton has been vigilant in its efforts to protect its citizens from the risks of classified and dangerous research; and

WHEREAS: Boston University is planning to build a BioSafety Level 4 laboratory in a densely populated area of Boston that may involve secret bioweapons research on incurable diseases such as ebola and other hemorrhagic fevers; and

WHEREAS: The dangers involved in this laboratory could disastrously affect residents in Newton, as well as residents of the immediately adjacent Roxbury/South End neighborhood, through the accidental release of deadly air-borne substances; contact with infected laboratory workers who reside in our community; or the laboratory becoming the target of a terrorist attack; and

WHEREAS: State Superior Court Judge Gants has vacated the Final Environmental Impact Review of the BSL4 laboratory by Boston University finding it arbitrary and capricious" and ordered that additional environmental reviews be carried out to provide an adequate analysis of "worst case scenarios" and the comparative risks of placing the lab in an alternative, less populated, site; and

WHEREAS: The City of Newton, by letter of November 3, 2004, had requested further environmental impact review by the MA Secretary of Environmental Affairs; and

WHEREAS: Boston University and the National Institutes of Health, in response to a motion for a preliminary injunction, committed themselves to developing a plan to improve community input and involvement, including in respect to DNA research protocols and limitations on such work; and be it further

RESOLVED: That the Newton Board of Aldermen contact the Director of the National Institutes of Health and urge a halt to the construction of the level 4 bio laboratory at Boston University until the successful completion of all required environmental impact reviews; and be it further

RESOLVED: That the Board of Aldermen is in principle opposed to the construction of BSL4 laboratories in densely populated areas; and be it further

RESOLVED: That any public hearing required for the purpose of providing information about the proposed laboratory include sufficient notice and opportunity for Newton residents to be heard.

RESOLVED: That the Newton Board of Aldermen notify the National Institute of Allergy and Infectious Diseases (NIAID) Director Anthony Fauci, Governor Deval Patrick, Congressman Barney Frank, Senators Kennedy and Kerry, the Massachusetts congressional delegation, its state legislative delegation, Mayor Menino and the Boston CityCouncil of the above actions.

Resolution offered by Aldermen Stephen Linsky, Leslie Burg, Amy Mah Sangiolo, Ted Hess-Mahan, Victoria Danberg and Anthony Salvucci
Approved Unanimously
June 18, 2007

R. Lisle Baker
President, Board of Aldermen

CITY OF NEWTONIN BOARD OF ALDERMEN

FEBRUARY 4, 2008

RESOLUTION

CALLING FOR THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT TO END THE WAR IN
IRAQ AND BEGIN AN IMMEDIATE, ORDERLY, RAPID WITHDRAWAL OF ALL
UNITED STATES MILITARY FORCES FROM IRAQ

BE IT RESOLVED:

WHEREAS, the Authorization for Use of Military Force Against Iraq, which was passed by the United States Congress on October 11, 2002, cited Iraq's possession of weapons of mass destruction as a primary reason for the use of United Armed Forces against Iraq; and

WHEREAS, on January 12, 2005, President Bush, having found no weapons of mass destruction in Iraq, officially declared an end to the search; and

WHEREAS, the war in Iraq, now in its fourth year, has caused the deaths of more than 3,700 American soldiers and an estimated 600,000 Iraqis, the physical and psychological wounding and disabling of more than 27,000 American soldiers and of hundreds of thousands of Iraqis and the destruction of the homes, communities, and livelihoods of hundreds of thousands of Iraqis; and

WHEREAS, the United States' occupation of Iraq has placed significant strains on the capacity of our Armed Forces, both active duty and reserve, as well as the National Guard; and

WHEREAS, the war and continued occupation have devastated Iraq's physical and social infrastructure and led to widespread and continuous resistance to the U.S. presence that threatens the lives of Iraqi civilians and the men and women who compose the ranks of the U.S. military; and

WHEREAS, the war in Iraq has created a climate of human rights violations including torture and detention of prisoners at Abu Ghraib, Guantanamo, and other sites, that have inflamed anti-American passions throughout the world and have increased the terrorist threat to United States citizens; and

WHEREAS, the Administration's current plans require an open ended and indefinite continuation of the war and include plans for permanent military bases in Iraq; and



BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the Newton Board of Alderman shall send copies of this resolution to President George W. Bush, Secretary of Defense Robert Gates, Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice, to all members of the Massachusetts Congressional and Senatorial delegation, Governor Deval Patrick, Mayor David Cohen and to the Newton TAB, the major Boston-area newspapers and television stations.

Resolution Approved

20 yeas 4 nays (Aldermen Harney, Gentile, Salvucci, Yates)

R. Lisle Baker, President

Resolution passed by the Newton Board of Aldermen October 19, 2009
Sponsored by Newton Dialogues on Peace and War

147A

We Urge the Newton Board of Aldermen to Pass the Following Resolution:
A RESOLUTION CALLING FOR ENDORSING REPRESENTATIVE BARNEY FRANK'S PROPOSAL FOR A 25% REDUCTION IN THE MILITARY BUDGET

1. **WHEREAS**, The military budget is bloated and filled with wasteful spending. and
2. **WHEREAS** The budget excesses take money away from Newton schools, essential human services programs, and capital programs, and
3. **WHEREAS**, The military budget has grown by 50% of GDP during the Bush Administration, and
4. **WHEREAS**, Over the past 9 years increased spending on the military has depleted our nation's resources and not increased our security,

THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED that the Newton Board of Alderman

1. **endorses Representative Barney Frank's proposal to reduce the military budget by 25%**
2. **endorses the goal of using the reduction in military spending to fund programs to meet the needs of the people of Newton and of the United States**
3. **endorses a goal of using the reduction in military spending to meet the needs of returning servicewomen and servicemen and veterans**
4. **endorses the goal of continuing to reduce the budget till it has shrunk to the amount necessary for the purposes of legitimate defense of the United States.**

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the Newton Board of Alderman shall send copies of this resolution to:

President Barack Obama, Secretary of Defense Robert Gates, Secretary of State Hillary Clinton,

All members of the Massachusetts Congressional and Senatorial delegation, Governor Deval Patrick, Mayor David Cohen and to the Newton TAB, the major Boston-area newspapers and television stations.

Newton Dialogues on Peace and War

<http://newtondialog.home.attbi.com>

univ@attbi.com

P.O. Box 610395

Newton, MA 02461

Thank you for joining us at our weekly vigil, 5-6PM, rain or shine, on the four corners of Beacon Street and Centre Street in Newton Centre! We appreciate your support and decision to join us in our witness for peace in Iraq and everywhere in the world.

In the spirit of non-violence, constructive dialogue and embodying the principles we stand for, we ask you to abide by the following rules:

1. Choose a sign that you feel comfortable holding. If you have brought your own sign, please ask a member of the vigil group to review its message.
2. In general, we encourage quiet, respectful witness. Anti-war singing is welcome, smiling and waving to passing cars and pedestrians is fine but remember that we are mourning lost lives as well as hoping to prevent additional loss of life.
3. If passing motorists or pedestrians are negative or attempt to engage you in a conversation that is not productive, acceptable strategies include ignoring the behavior or thanking them for their opinion or a gentle comment such as "Isn't great that we live in a democracy where everyone is free to voice her opinion?" DO NOT shout back, insult the heckler or indulge in non-verbal negative behavior (such as scowling or gesturing negatively).

Again, thank you for joining us in this important activity.



VIGILS

149A

We are standing as a witness, protesting the actions and policies—both here and abroad—of our government. We are facing a great crisis in our country, and citizens need to stand up—out in the open—and say NO. Our group tries to educate people and raise their awareness of the crisis—through speakers and programs. We want to help with the election of a new government in 2004.

- We are waging the first preventive war in our history. We don't want this to happen again.
- We were lied to by our government in order for this war to be waged.
- No WMD. No links to the September 11 attacks.
- The war in Iraq is a diversion from the September 11 attack.
- And this diversion has cost hundreds of U.S. soldiers their lives, thousands are badly wounded. And thousands of Iraqi civilians and soldiers have died and been wounded.
- Our government was intent on war. They want to show our power.

What's the result?

- We are no safer.
- We have created more, not less, terrorism.
- We are now seen as the threat to peace in the world.
- We are seen as a greedy country which has awarded sweetheart deals to its own companies—like Halliburton and Bechtel—to make money of this war. This is a total disaster.

To try to lessen the terrorist threat, we should be increasing international cooperation, but instead we have alienated governments around the world. We're seen as a loose cannon.

Domestically, our government is a threat to our civil liberties. Under the USA Patriot Act American citizens can be arrested and held without charges and without habeas corpus. This government poses the most serious threat to our democracy in our history.

OTHER ANTI-WAR GROUPS IN BOSTON AREA

NDPW was one of many groups that organized in the Boston area to protest United States policies at this time. Many of them still exist. **The umbrella group, a regional coalition, was and is called United for Justice with Peace** www.justicewithpeace.org). Most of the groups listed below held weekly vigils, initially called to protest the attack on Iraq. Many of these vigils, including the Thursday Newton Dialogues' vigil, continue to be held.

UJP published a list with contact information for each group, which allowed for publicity to be circulated and common programs to be organized. Each community listed was active in peace activities to different degrees, but all together thousands of people are represented here.

Acton	Groton	Newburyport
Allston/Brighton	Hingham	North Shore
Amesbury	Holliston	Reading
Andover	Hudson	Revere
Arlington	Ipswich	Roslindale
Beverly	Jamaica Plain	Sharon
Bolton	Lexington	Sherborn*
Boston	Lincoln	Somerville
Boston/Fenway	Malden	South Shore
Bridgewater	Marlboro	Stow-Acton
Brockton	Medford	Taunton
Brookline	Melrose	Waltham
Cambridge	Merrimack Valley	Watertown
Cape Cod	Metrowest	Wellesley
Concord	Milford	Westboro
Dorchester	Milton	Weston
Duxbury	Natick	Wilmington
East Boston	Nashoba Valley	Winchester
Framingham	Needham	Worcester
Gloucester	Newton	

*The Peace Abbey in Sherborn organized a peace walk from Sherborn to Boston early in the protest against the Iraq invasion. The Abbey is an interfaith center for the study and practice of non-violence. A copy of their brochure is included in the Appendix.

*United for Justice with Peace principles are provided in the Appendix. These principles were adopted shortly after September 11, 2001.

Newton Dialogues on Peace and War

P.O. Box 610395, Newton, MA 02461

univ@comcast.net www.newtondialog.org

www.alternative-views.org

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Fall, 2003

Working Group

Octo Barnett
Sev Bruyn
Barbara Flanagan
Judith Hudson
Jerry Manning
Peter Metz
Susan Mirsky
Jamie Murdock
Linda and Steve Nathanson
Prasannan Parthasarathi
Diane Price
Dan Shaw
Faye Snider
Dick Sterne

Editors, *Alternative Views*

Daniela Bartalesi-Graf
Sev Bruyn
Barbara Flanagan
James Murdock
Frank Propp
Allan Rubin
Dick Sterne

Media Outreach

Marilyn Bentov
Paula Chasan
Christopher Gruener
Ann Regan
Ginny Robinson

Saturday Tabling

Jane Brown
Libby Gerlach
Jerry Manning
Susan Mirsky
Ginny Robinson
Allan Rubin
Dan Shaw

Election 2004

Paula Chasan
Naomi Myrvaagnes
Ruby Poltorak
Dan Shaw
Faye Snider
Andre Sheldon

Dear Friend of Newton Dialogues:

We are writing to you on the second anniversary of Newton Dialogues on Peace and War. It was two years ago that a dozen people from Newton met to share their concerns about the challenges facing our country as a result of the attacks on September 11, 2001. Worried about the climate of fear and the lack of dialogue, we met to stimulate open and democratic discussion. That initial grassroots conversation has continued, with over 700 people now on our roster.

A great deal has happened since that first informal meeting. Our sense of urgent concern has only grown. Just as we feared, our government has taken the path of military power as its main response to the threat of terrorist attacks. Our government has initiated two wars, alienated friends and allies around the world, violated international law, showed contempt for the United Nations, and endangered our own liberties. As a result of these policies, our country is no safer and now faces massive debts and severe cutbacks in the resources available for schools, health care, the environment, and a good life for Americans and others throughout the world.

That is the bad news, and it is why our work as a group must continue.

The good news is that Newton Dialogues has flourished, creating and sustaining a wide range of activities. As a result, however, we now need to raise funds and are asking for your help in order to continue these activities. Here is a partial list of what we've done in these past two years:

- We have helped other towns organize similar grassroots groups.
- We have held monthly meetings to talk about issues and hear speakers.
- We have created a Website (www.newtondialog.org) that has been visited over 6000 times; it provides information about upcoming events, articles, and statements pertinent to our concerns.
- Members have spoken at local schools, churches, and retirement groups.
- Our weekly vigil against the war and government policies, begun in July, 2002, has involved hundreds of Newton citizens of all ages and has been seen by thousands of people.
- We collected over 800 signatures on a petition to the Newton Board of Aldermen, urging it to pass a resolution against the USA Patriot Act. That resolution passed unanimously this past August.
- We hold a Saturday peace information table at the Newton Main Library.
- Before the invasion of Iraq, we printed a full page ad in *The Tab* exposing the false claims about Iraqi involvement in the September 11 attacks.
- We have sponsored public talks by Father Robert Drinan, Congressman Barney Frank, Randy Forsberg of the Institute for Defense and Disarmament Studies, and Nancy Murray of the ACLU.
- We now publish a monthly newspaper, *Alternative Views*, available on the Web (www.alternative-views.org) and in hard copy.
- We have participated in local, regional, and national demonstrations.

Web Page

Octo Barnett
Steve Nathanson
Prasannan
Parthasarathi

In short, we have a lot to be proud of. Had more Americans spoken out as early as we did, our country would not be in the terrible quagmire in which it finds itself today.

**Israel/Palestine
Issues**

Marilyn Bentov
Ann Glick
Dick Hanelin
Jamie Murdock
Steve Nathanson
Andre Sheldon

The challenges that face Newton Dialogues have only grown, and we are eager to sustain our activities. With our growth in size and in the level of our activities, however, our expenses have increased significantly. In the past, we were able to cover our costs simply by passing the hat at monthly meetings. But this is no longer sufficient. The purpose of this letter is to ask for your help in making it possible for us to continue and expand our activities. We need your help to cover the substantial costs of bringing in speakers, organizing programs, renting space, advertising, and publishing the *Alternative Views* newspaper.

USA Patriot Act

Jocelyn Almeida
Octo Barnett
Prasannan
Parthasarathi
Dan Shaw
Tony Winsor

Alternative Views (www.alternative-views.org) is a non-profit newspaper published both on-line and in print by Newton Dialogues. It has appeared monthly since June, 2003. Seeking a world "where social justice becomes a foundation of long-lasting peace," *Alternative Views* provides information and opinion from a broad range of sources in the United States and other parts of the world. The print edition of *Alternative Views* is now being distributed at the "T," at our Saturday table, at the Newton Main Library and all of its branches, and in other Boston metropolitan communities.

**Peace
Programming
for NEWTV**

Dan Fitzsimmons
Sherry Moore
Doris Tennant
Erika Wilton

To support all these peace and protest activities in Newton, we now need to make a direct appeal for funds to our supporters and friends. In recognition of our two years of activity and in view of the challenges still facing us and our country, we ask that you make a donation to help us continue our work.

We thank everyone who has taken part in Newton Dialogue activities, as well as those who have supported us in spirit. Your continued support at this time will be very much appreciated.

Artists

Alice Aronow
Sherry Moore
Emma Vesey

Yours sincerely,



Linda Nathanson, Chair



Diane Price, Treasurer

Newton Dialogues on Peace and War

Dedicated to democratic dialogue and discussion.

We oppose militarism and unilateral, preventive wars.

We support cooperative security strategies through the United Nations.

We oppose unwise, unjust tax cuts and support a just economy.

that provides support for education, health care and the environment.

We oppose the USA Patriot Act and support the protection of our cherished civil rights.

Please make out checks to *Newton Dialogues on Peace and War* and return to P.O. Box 610395, Newton, MA 02461. Please use the enclosed return address envelope. Thank you!

☐ \$10 ☐ \$25 ☐ \$50 ☐ \$100 ☐ Other _____

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Please note: Because Newton Dialogues takes political stands, donations are not tax-deductible.

Name: _____

Address: _____

E-mail: _____ Phone number: _____

If you are not on our roster and would like to be added—in order to receive information about our programs and about peace and protest events in the Boston area—please check here: ☐

Newton Dialogues on Peace and War
P.O. Box 610395
Newton, MA 02461

Newton Dialogues on Peace & War
PO Box 610395
Newton, MA 02461
univ@comcast.net

Thank you very much for your recent contribution to Newton Dialogues on Peace & War. We appreciate your generosity and your support for our grassroots efforts to promote a more peaceful and just world.

Please join us in our weekly vigils and monthly meetings. You can keep posted on our activities as well as finding news of other local events and articles on political and social issues by checking our Website at: www.newtondialog.org.

Again, many thanks from all of us.

NEWTON DIALOGUES ON PEACE AND WAR

THINGS YOU CAN DO

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- Come to Newton Dialogues on Peace and War regular meetings
– 2nd Sunday of the month 7:30 PM at Eliot Church, corner of Centre and Church Streets, in Newton Corner.
Visit our website for details and information about upcoming events.
- Join the Thursday vigil 5-6pm in Newton Center
- Come to our information table Saturdays from 12 to 1 at various sites in Newton
Visit our website for venues or email dshaw@bu.edu
- Help publicize events sponsored by Newton Dialogues on Peace and War
- Help Newton Dialogues on Peace and War distribute information about US foreign policy and about the USA PATRIOT Act.
- Join our mailing list and stay informed about Newton Dialogues on Peace and War
- Help Newton Dialogues organize new efforts, such as:
 - Organizing teams that will visit elected representatives
 - Organizing house parties for friends/ neighbors at which representative from Newton Dialogues on Peace and War could talk about our work
 - Organizing a team to distribute information at local high schools, colleges, and other places in the community
 - Working on a library of information about US foreign policy, the war in Iraq, and the USA PATRIOT ACT that is not generally available in the mass media, and helping to make that information available

Contact Newton Dialogues on Peace and War at:

Our website NEWTONDIALOG.HOME.ATTBI.COM

Or Newton Dialogues on Peace and War
P.O. Box 610395
Newton, MA 02461

Mission Statement

Newton Dialogues on Peace and War

Newton Dialogues on Peace and War was formed shortly after the September 11 attacks.

We are a group of Newton citizens, united by shared concerns about the current crisis and by a sense of urgency about the many issues facing our country as a result of these attacks.

- We are committed to the values of peace and justice for all people and believe that our government's policies should be judged by their fidelity to these values.
- We are concerned that our government has too frequently responded to international crises through the use of massive military force and that such a response will, in the long run, decrease rather than increase safety and security.
- We are concerned that there is so little active debate and discussion about the momentous choices and decisions that now confront us as a country. Democratic discussion and debate are the best expressions of patriotism.
- We are concerned that the current response to terrorism deflects us from seeking justice and economic security for all people in our own nation and throughout the world.
- We are concerned that our country has acted unilaterally, and we believe that efforts to prevent terrorism must be grounded in international cooperation.

Members of Newton Dialogues on Peace and War recognize that there are no simple answers to the problems that confront our nation and the rest of the world. We oppose both automatic support and automatic opposition to government policies and believe that democracy can flourish only if citizens and our representatives discuss and debate policies rather than simply acquiesce in them.

For this reason, we seek to promote public discussion, dialogue, and peaceful action, so that responses to terrorism and other challenges facing our country will be matters of public debate and subject to the democratic process. Only in this way will policies emerge that are grounded in the fundamental American values of peace and justice.

CHECK OUT OUR WEBSITE

newtondialog.home.attbi.com

Newton Dialogues on Peace and War

Leave blank

BY-LAWS FOR NEWTON DIALOGUES

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Approved by the Working Group, December 7, 2004

Preliminary Note:

- We are required to submit three officers, and the persons who have agreed to hold office are: President, Steve Nathanson; Treasurer, Diane Price; Clerk, Jane Brown.
- The Mission Statement will serve as the Charter of Newton Dialogues on Peace and War. It can be revised in the future.

1. Description of the group, Newton Dialogues on Peace and War (NDPW)


NDPW is a grassroots organization that has evolved in response to the terrorist attacks of 9/11/2001 and the reactions of the United States government to these attacks. While participants share a peace-oriented political perspective that is reflected in our mission statement, the group encompasses people with diverse views within this perspective.

2. Forms of Association in NDPW

People in the group have one or more of the following roles:

- a. Participants are people who are on our roster at their request.
- b. Committee members are people who volunteer for and take part in the activities of our various committees.
- c. Working Group (WG) members are those who attend monthly meetings of the Working Group, the body in which plans and decisions about activities and policies are generally made.
- d. Board members are 6 to 12 people elected to serve on the Board by the Working Group for one-year terms or to fill vacancies and who are formally responsible for the decisions of NDPW. Board members will typically be members of the Working Group, but others may be nominated by Working Group members.

3. Decision-making

- a. NDPW is a democratic, participatory organization.
 - b. The decision-making process for committees is decided by those committees. Decisions of committees are subject to oversight by the Working Group. Public statements in the name of NDPW and major expenditures must be approved by the Working Group.
- 

By-Laws, page 2

c. Within the Working Group, decisions are generally made by consensus. In certain cases, a vote may be taken. A right to vote shall belong to all members who regularly attend meetings of the Working Group. Regular attendance shall be understood to mean at least 3 of the last 5 meetings. In special circumstances, a right to vote may be extended to a member who has not met the attendance requirement. This shall occur if two-thirds of those who meet the attendance requirement vote in favor of over-riding the attendance rule.

The Working Group can dismiss an individual member upon a two-thirds vote that an individual's participation is inconsistent with the group's ability to achieve its aims.

d. Decisions of the Board will generally be by consensus, but the Board may wish to make decisions by vote. A 2/3 majority shall be required for a vote to carry. A quorum of two-thirds will be required for a Board meeting.

e. These By-Laws may be amended by a 2/3 vote of the Working Group.

Who are we? Newton Dialogues on Peace and War was formed shortly after the September 11 attacks. We are a group of Newton citizens united by shared concerns about the current crisis.

We seek to promote public discussion, dialogue, and peaceful action, so that responses to terrorism and other challenges facing our country will be matters of public debate and subject to the democratic process. Only in this way will policies emerge that are grounded in the fundamental American values of peace and justice.

What can we do?

- Come to our Thursday vigil, 5 – 6 P.M. (corner, Beacon and Centre Streets)
- Educate ourselves.
- Talk to friends, family and co-workers.
- Write to local newspapers.

Speak up:

Contact our government officials:

- Pres. George Bush, White House, Washington, DC 20500
Phone: (202)456-1111 Fax: (202)224-2461
E-mail: president@whitehouse.gov
- U.S. Senate, Washington, DC 20510
Senator Ted Kennedy: (617)565-3170 Fax: (202)224-2417
E-mail: senator@kennedy.senate.gov
- Senator John Kerry: (617)565-8519 Fax: (202)224-8525
E-mail: john_kerry@kerry.senate.gov
- U.S. House of Representatives: Washington, DC 20515
(202)224-3121

Here are some local organizations working for peace:

American Friends Service Committee (617)661-6130 www.afsc.org
Boston Mobilization (617)782-2313 Bostonmobilization.org
United for Justice with Peace (617)661-6130 ww.justicewithpeace.org
Fellowship of Reconciliation (914)358-4601 www.forusa.org
Voices in the Wilderness (aid to Iraq) (773)784-8065

www.nonviolence.org/vitw

A DIALOGUE ON PEACE AND WAR

The threat of war hangs over our world at this moment. In the interests of promoting dialogue and discussion, Newton



Dialogues on Peace and War offers these reflections on peace and war from a variety of religious traditions.

9/11 Families: "Our grief is not a cry for war."

"A time comes when silence is betrayal. Even when pressed by the demands of inner truth, men do not easily assume the task of opposing their government's policy, especially in time of war...[but] If we do not act, we shall surely be dragged down the long, dark, and shameful corridors of time reserved for those who possess power without compassion, might without morality, and strength without sight."

—Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., 1967

Newton Dialogues on Peace and War

We hold a weekly vigil for peace on Thursdays, from 5 to 6 P.M. at the corner of Beacon and Centre Streets.

Please join us

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“We must be prepared to make heroic sacrifices for the cause of peace that we make ungrudgingly for the cause of war.”

—Albert Einstein

Amber Amundson, widow of September 11 victim, Craig Scott Amundson:

“I call on our national leaders to find the courage to respond to this incomprehensible tragedy by breaking the cycle of violence...I call on them to focus our strength to work for justice and peace around the globe. I ask them to unleash our country's immense energy to create a world in which compassion and forgiveness are possible.”

“Every gun that is made, every warship launched, every rocket fired, signifies, in the final sense, a theft from those who hunger and are not fed, those who are cold and are not clothed.”

—Dwight Eisenhower

A wise Sufi asked his students: “How can you tell the difference between night and day? When the stars are no longer visible? No. When you can find your way without a lantern? No.” They tried in vain to answer. So he said, “When you look into the face of your adversary and see another human being. Then you are in the light.”

“What difference does it make to the dead, the orphans, and the homeless, whether the mad destruction is wrought under the name of totalitarianism or the holy name of liberty and democracy?”

—Mohandas Gandhi

“Hatreds never cease through hatred in this world; through love alone they cease. This is an eternal law.”

—Dhammapada

“I call heaven and earth to witness against you this day, that I have set before thee life and death, the blessing and the curse; therefore, choose life, that thou mayest live, thou and thy seed.”

—Deuteronomy 30:19

“O mankind! We created you from a single soul, male and female, and made you into nations and tribes, so that you may come to know one another. Truly, the most honored of you in God's sight is the greatest of you in piety.”

—Qur'aan (49:13)

“The church must be reminded that it is not the master or the servant of the state, but rather the conscience of the state. It must be the guide and the critic of the state, and never its tool. If the church does not recapture its prophetic zeal, it will become an irrelevant social club without moral or spiritual authority.”

—Martin Luther King, Jr., 1963

“There may be, and sometimes is, a clash of interests among States [nations], each striving for its own development. When differences of this sort arise, they must be settled in a truly human way, not by armed force nor by deceit or trickery. There must be a mutual assessment of the arguments and feelings on both sides, a mature and objective investigation of the situation, and an equitable reconciliation of opposing views”

—Pope John XXXIII, “Pacem in Terris”

“Ye have heard that it hath been said, Thou shalt love thy neighbor and hate your enemy. But I say unto you, Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which despitefully use you, and persecute you.”

—Matthew 5:43-44

“Only through a world united are we capable of rebuilding failed states that harbor terrorists, preventing weapons of mass destruction from entering the hands of rogue leaders and terrorists, building strong economies based on sustainable and equitable development [and] addressing international environmental crises...Far from being made irrelevant by 9-11, international cooperation through multilateral institutions is more critical to our survival than ever.”

—World Federalist Association

Newton Dialogues on Peace and War was formed shortly after the September 11 attacks. We are a group of Newton citizens united by shared concerns about the current crisis.

We seek to promote public discussion, dialogue, and peaceful action, so that responses to terrorism and other challenges facing our country will be matters of public debate and subject to the democratic process. Only in this way will policies emerge that are grounded in the fundamental American values of peace and justice.

You may contact us at univ@artbi.com or call (617) 964-5707

Visit our Web site: <http://newtondialog.home.artbi.com>

P.O. Box 610395, Newton MA 02461

Speak up:

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- U.S. Senate, Washington, DC 20510
Senator Ted Kennedy: (617)565-3170 Fax: (202)224-2417
E-mail: senator@kenedysenate.gov
- Senator John Kerry: (617)565-8519 Fax: (202)224-8525
E-mail: john_kerry@kerry.senate.gov
- U.S. House of Representatives: Washington, DC 20515
(202)224-3121
- Rep. Barney Frank: (617)332-3920 and (202)225-5931

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www.afsc.org

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Fellowship of Reconciliation (914)358-4601 www.forusa.org

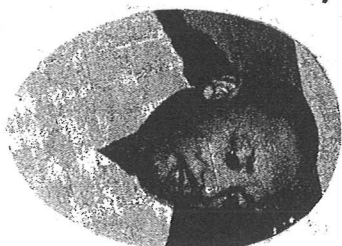
Voices in the Wilderness (aid to Iraq) (773)784-8065

www.nonviolence.org/vitw

Pax Christi (814)453-4955 paxwpb@gate.net

REFLECTIONS ON PEACE AND WAR

The threat of war hangs over our world at this moment. May we remember the wisdom of Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. in



earlier crises in our history. May we remember his message of non-violence and the importance of speaking out in a democracy.

"A time comes when silence is betrayal. Even when pressed by the demands of inner truth, men do not easily assume the task of opposing their government's policy, especially in time of war...[but] If we do not act, we shall surely be dragged down the long, dark, and shameful corridors of time reserved for those who possess power without compassion, might without morality, and strength without sight."

—Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., 1967

Newton Dialogues on Peace and War

We hold a peace vigil every Thursday evening from 5 to 6 P.M. at the corner of Beacon and Centre Streets.

PLEASE JOIN US!

“Every gun that is made, every warship launched, every rocket fired, signifies, in the final sense, a theft from those who hunger and are not fed, those who are cold and are not clothed.”

—Dwight Eisenhower

“What difference does it make to the dead, the orphans, and the homeless, whether the mad destruction is wrought under the name of totalitarianism or the holy name of liberty and democracy?”

—Mohandas Gandhi

“I call heaven and earth to witness against you this day, that I have set before thee life and death, the blessing and the curse; therefore, choose life, that thou mayest live, thou and thy seed.”

—Deuteronomy 30:19

“The church must be reminded that it is not the master or the servant of the state, but rather the conscience of the state. It must be the guide and the critic of the state, and never its tool. If the church does not recapture its prophetic zeal, it will become an irrelevant social club without moral or spiritual authority.”

—Martin Luther King, Jr.,
1963

“Ye have heard that it hath been said, Thou shalt love thy neighbor and hate your enemy. But I say unto you, Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which despitefully use you, and persecute you.”

—Matthew 5:43-44

“...WAR IS NOT THE ANSWER...”

“...Now let us rededicate ourselves in the long and bitter, but beautiful struggle for a new world. If we will but make the right choice, we will be able to speed up the day, all over America and all over the world, when justice will roll down like waters, and righteousness like a mighty stream.”

—Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., Riverside Church, 1967

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What we have done

- ◆ Since the fall of 2001, Newton Dialogues has grown from a group of ten to over 600 members.
- ◆ We have a website that is rich in information.
- ◆ We have sponsored public talks on the war on terrorism, the Middle East, the war on Iraq, nuclear weapons, and the USA Patriot Act.
- ◆ We have held a weekly peace vigil since July 2002, joined rallies in New York and Boston, and lobbied our Congressional representatives.
- ◆ Our members have spoken at local churches and taken part in numerous community events.
- ◆ A new electronic newspaper is being launched, and more community education and dialogue programs are planned.

What you can do

- ◆ Check our website for more information about our group: www.newtondialog.org.
- ◆ Join our mailing list by writing to univ@attbi.com or P.O. Box 610395, Newton, MA 02461.
- ◆ Join us in our weekly peace vigil. We meet every Thursday, from 5 to 6 p.m., at the corner of Beacon and Centre Streets in Newton Center.
- ◆ Come to our monthly meetings: usually held at 7:30, on the 2nd Sunday of every month at the Eliot Church, 474 Centre Street, Newton Corner.
- ◆ Commit yourself to working for peace and justice in whatever way you can.

NEWTON DIALOGUES ON PEACE & WAR

www.newtondialog.org

Newton Dialogues on Peace & War was formed by a group of Newton citizens shortly after the September 11 attacks. We were united by a sense of urgency about the challenges facing our country and a concern about the policies that our government might adopt in response to the terrorist attacks.

Our initial concerns

When we first formed,

- ◆ we feared that our government would respond to the September 11 attacks through the use of massive military force;
 - ◆ we thought that reliance on military means could decrease the security of our country and other peoples;
 - ◆ we believed that efforts to prevent terrorism must be grounded in international cooperation;
 - ◆ we were disturbed that in the weeks and months after September 11, there was so little discussion and debate about how our country should respond to the threat of terrorism.
- Believing that democracy can flourish only if citizens discuss and debate government policies rather than simply acquiescing in them, we named our group *Newton Dialogues on Peace & War*.

Our fears confirmed

In the time since our group began, many of our worst fears have been confirmed:

- ◆ Instead of a focused search for those who committed the September 11 attacks, the Bush administration chose to engage in a war against Afghanistan, leading to many civilian deaths and scattering terrorist groups to other countries.
- ◆ In September 2002, the Bush Administration announced a new national security policy that stresses a strategy of unilateral, preventive wars against possible enemies.
- ◆ The war against Iraq was the first of these wars, and forces within the administration favor additional wars—against Iran, Syria, North Korea, and others.
- ◆ In order to create public support for the war against Iraq, the Bush administration misled the American people, creating the false impression that Saddam Hussein was connected to the September 11 attacks and greatly exaggerating the threat of an Iraqi attack against the United States, even though Iraq had no nuclear weapons.
- ◆ There continues to be a lack of serious debate about our country's foreign policy, as political candidates fear denunciation for criticizing the President and "news" channels mislead people with one-sided propaganda.

How the United States has been damaged

In launching the war on Iraq, the Bush administration acted with disdain for international law, the UN, and world opinion.

- ◆ Our country is now seen by people throughout the world as a major threat to peace and stability.
- ◆ While the war in Iraq has succeeded militarily, costly, difficult tasks remain in restoring Iraq.
- ◆ The problems of terrorism and nuclear, chemical and biological weapons remain unsolved.
- ◆ Our own economy is weak, and state and local governments are in crisis.

The United States needs a new direction

While we acknowledge that there are no simple answers to the problems that confront our nation and the rest of the world, Newton Dialogues urges a new direction for the United States.

We oppose the unilateral, militaristic policies of the Bush administration and its indifference to domestic policies that promote a good life for Americans.

We support

- ◆ multilateralism, international law, and the UN,
- ◆ protection of our cherished civil liberties and constitutional rights, and democratic traditions,
- ◆ resources to help children, the poor, the elderly,
- ◆ improving health care, education, the environment,
- ◆ fair taxes and economic policies that will benefit the vast majority of Americans.

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SILENCE IS BETRAYAL

. The following words by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., were delivered at Riverside Church, New York City, April 4th, 1967.

A time comes when silence is betrayal. Even when pressed by the demands of inner truth, men do not easily assume the task of opposing their government's policy, especially in time of war. Nor does the human spirit move without great difficulty against all the apathy of conformist thought within one's own bosom and in the surrounding world. Moreover, when the issues at hand seem as perplexing as they often do in the case of dreadful conflict, we are always on the verge of being mesmerized by uncertainty. But we must move on.

Some of us who have already begun to break the silence of the night have found that the calling to speak is often a vocation of agony, but we must speak. We must speak with all the humility that is appropriate to our limited vision, but we must speak. For we are deeply in need of a new way beyond the darkness that seems so close around us.

We are called to speak for the weak, for the voiceless, for the victims of our nation, for those it calls "enemy", for no document from human hands can make these humans any less our brothers. I think of them, too, because it is clear to me that there will be no meaningful solution until some attempt is made to know them and hear their broken cries.

I am convinced that if we are to get on the right side of the world revolution, we as a nation must undergo a radical revolution of values. We must rapidly begin the shift from a thing-oriented society to a person-oriented society. When machines and computers, profit motives and property rights, are considered more important than people, the giant triplets of racism, extreme materialism, and militarism are incapable of being conquered.

A true revolution of values will lay hand on the world order and say of war, "This way of settling differences is not just." A nation that continues year and year to spend more money on military defense than on programs of social uplift is approaching spiritual death. America, the richest and most powerful nation in the world, can well lead the way in this revolution of values. There is nothing except a tragic death wish to prevent us from reordering our priorities over the pursuit of war.

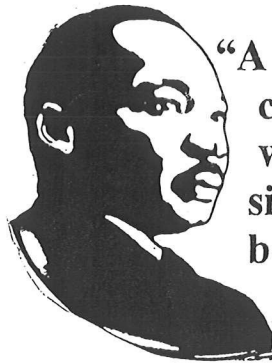
This call for a worldwide fellowship that lifts neighborly concern beyond one's tribe, clan, race, class, and nation is in reality a call for an all-embracing and unconditional love for all mankind. We can no longer afford to worship the God of hate or bow before the altar of retaliation. The oceans of history are made turbulent by the ever-rising tides of hate. History is cluttered with the wreckage of nations and individuals that pursued this self-defeating path of hate.

We still have a choice today: nonviolent coexistence or violent co-annihilation. We must move past indecision to action. If we do not act, we shall surely be dragged down the long, dark, and shameful corridors of time reserved for those who possess power without compassion, might without morality, and strength without sight.

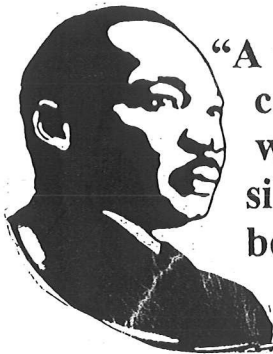
Now let us begin. Now let us rededicate ourselves in the long and bitter, but beautiful struggle for a new world. If we will but make the right choice, we will be able to speed up the day, all over America and all over the world, when justice will roll down like waters, and righteousness like a mighty stream.

May our country, on the brink of war, take to heart the final refrain of "America, the Beautiful":

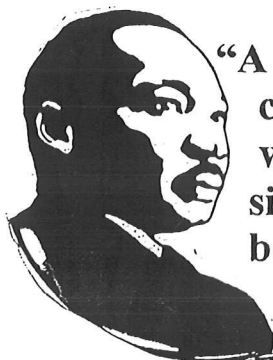
166 A
Lapel
stickers



**"A time
comes
when
silence is
betrayal."
M.L.King, Jr.**



**"A time
comes
when
silence is
betrayal."
M.L.King, Jr.**



**"A time
comes
when
silence is
betrayal."
M.L.King, Jr.**

March 19, 2005
2nd Anniversary of the
WAR IN IRAQ

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167A

JOIN OUR NEWTON
GATHERING TO EXPRESS
GRIEF, OUTRAGE, and
DETERMINATION

- GRIEF for thousands of Americans and Iraqis who have died and suffered.
- OUTRAGE at the lies that promoted war, the \$160 billion cost, the torture of prisoners, the increase of terrorists and insurgents.
- DETERMINATION to continue resisting the war mentality of the Bush Administration.

SATURDAY, MARCH 19, 1:30 P.M.
NEWTON CENTRE GREEN,
BEACON AND CENTRE STREETS.

Sponsored by Newton Dialogues on Peace & War
www.newtondialog.org.

Town Meeting THE WAR IN IRAQ: What Now?

*The U.S. invaded Iraq with no provocation.
The war has devastated Iraq, causing the
deaths of over 3000 American soldiers and
over 600,000 Iraqi citizens. Violence continues
to escalate. WHAT IS TO BE DONE?*

Please join us to discuss the issues facing our
country. The November elections,
the Newton referendum on the war, and the
Iraq Study Group all call for new policies.
HOW CAN WE MAKE CHANGE HAPPEN?

Join Us!

Sunday, January 14, 7:30 p.m.

**Eliot Church, 474 Centre Street, Newton Corner
Newton Dialogues on Peace and War**

www.newtondialog.org

2004
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169A

Newton Dialogues on Peace & War
www.newtondialog.org

July 15, 2004

Dear Friends of Newton Dialogues:

We are writing in support of the effort by Chris Gruener, Doris Tennant, Ellen Lubell, and Doug Reynolds to raise \$100,000 to support the work of ACT in the 2004 election.

Newton Dialogues and ACT share the same concern about the need to prevent a second term for George W. Bush. We have seen how his administration used the September 11 attacks to rally support for destructive war policies. Even in the face of mounting evidence to the contrary, Bush continues to defend his decisions. Everything we have stood for as a group is at stake in the 2004 election.

Earlier this year, Newton Dialogues, along with Brookline Peaceworks, sponsored a showing of "Unprecedented," a film about the 2000 election in Florida. We raised \$3500 for ACT. Our own Election Action Committee has organized voter education and voter registration efforts, and others in our group are working on a variety of electoral projects.

Chris, Doris, Ellen, and Doug have set themselves a very ambitious goal. We applaud their energy and dedication and ask you to support their effort to raise funds for ACT, which is a very effective, well-organized group that has a strategy for electoral organizing in swing states.

As you consider their appeal, we ask you to think about the following questions:

- What will a Bush re-election mean for our country in the next years and beyond?
- What will people throughout the world think of the American people if we give a second term to a president who led our country into a war that has cost thousands of lives and billions of dollars?
- What will people throughout the world think of Americans if we re-elect a leader who promoted false claims about the threat posed by Iraq and who showed contempt for the United Nations and world opinion?

Please support this effort with as generous a contribution as you can so that we can elect a new president and a new Congress in 2004.

Sincerely,

Faye Snider, Chair, Newton Dialogues Election Action Committee

Steve Nathanson, Member of the Newton Dialogues Working Group

B7B
170A

April 4, 2007

Newton Dialogues on Peace and War
P.O. Box 610395
Newton, MA 02461

Newton attorneys Doris Tennant and Ellen Lubell are volunteering their time and services to represent a detainee at Guantanamo. Since 2002 over 775 people have been imprisoned there without charges or trial. Our government has, in effect, already decided they are guilty. Some may be guilty, but some may be innocent.

This is not a chapter to be proud of in our history.

However, we are proud of people like Doris and Ellen who are standing up for the legal values that our country is based on, in which a person is presumed to be innocent until brought before a court and proven guilty. The requirement to be "brought before a court" is called *habeus corpus* and is one of the great cornerstones of our legal system. In principle, we cannot simply be taken and thrown into a dark hole, to disappear, as is still the case in many societies today.

And is the case now in Guantanamo.

Doris and Ellen have incurred many thousands of dollars in expenses, and while other lawyers helping other detainees are part of large firms that can help defray these expenses (\$20,000 a year), these two women constitute their firm, and there is no large pocket to draw upon.

Please consider making a contribution to help them defray their costs, either by leaving cash in the basket at the back of the room or by writing a check, payable to: ***Tennant Lubell Detainee Fund***. Checks should be sent to:

TennantLubell LLC
288 Walnut Street, Suite 500
Newton, MA 02460
617-969-9610

THANK YOU!

171A

TennantLubell, LLC
Law • Dispute Resolution • Consulting

April, 2007

Dear Friends and Colleagues,

As many of you know, my law partner, Doris Tennant, and I have volunteered to represent a Guantanamo detainee. As citizens and as lawyers, we have been profoundly disturbed by the reports of our government's treatment of detainees at Guantanamo and the appalling lack of legal process afforded to them. Guantanamo has come to symbolize this country's abandonment of international and domestic law. More than 775 detainees have been held there since January 11, 2002, and not one of them has been convicted of any crime.

With the death of three detainees last June, Doris and I felt that we had to take action. We contacted the Center for Constitutional Rights in New York (CCR) (), which has been coordinating defense efforts on behalf of the detainees, and were assigned to represent Mr. Abdul Aziz Naji, a 31 year old Arabic-speaking Algerian man who has been detained in Guantanamo for approximately five years.

Doris and I traveled to Guantanamo in early February of this year to meet with our client and assess what we could do to secure a fair hearing for him and, if appropriate, his release. We found him to be a very likeable young man, eager to speak with us and to have us ask questions, and holding up fairly well despite being held in solitary confinement. Until now, he has had no legal representation during the five years of his detention. He has never been charged with a crime, and we have not been able to ascertain the grounds, if any, on which he is being held.

We are providing legal services to him on a *pro bono* (no charge) basis, but we will be incurring many thousands of dollars of expenses as we proceed: airfare to Guantanamo every few months for each of us and an Arabic interpreter; the cost of accommodations at the base; interpreters' fees; and airfare to Washington, DC to examine classified information held in the government's secure facility, and to appear before the court as required. Most of the other attorneys who are representing Guantanamo detainees are members of large law firms that cover these types of expenses, but in our case the firm is just us. If you would like to make a contribution to help us defray our costs, it would be much appreciated. Please make your check payable to "Tennant Lubell Detainee Fund."

Your contribution will not be tax-deductible, but we promise to put it to good use to help provide fundamental legal rights to a man who remains in indefinite detention. I hope you'll call or e-mail us if you have questions.

Thank you for your support,

Ellen Lubell and Doris Tennant

288 Walnut Street, Suite 500 Newton, MA 02460
Ph: 617 • 969 • 9610 Fax: 617 • 969 • 9611
www.TL LawGroup.com

Top 10 Myths about Guantánamo Bay

www.ccr-ny.org/v2/gac/learnmore/myths.asp#myths

172A

1. **MYTH:** Detainees are the "worst of the worst" terrorist members of al Qaeda.

FACT: A February 2006 report by Seton Hall professor Mark Denbeaux and attorney Joshua Denbeaux found that 55 percent of the detainees were determined by the government to have committed no hostile acts against the United States or its coalition allies. The report also stated that only 8 percent of the detainees were classified by the government as al Qaeda fighters.

2. **MYTH:** They have given the government valuable intelligence.

FACT: Guantánamo officials have admitted that less than one in four detainees has any intelligence value.

3. **MYTH:** Their detainment contributes to national security.

FACT: Anger abroad over treatment of detainees is high and has led to heightened anti-American sentiment and fewer intelligence contacts.

4. **MYTH:** They're not tortured or abused and are treated humanely.

FACT: Numerous reports have found that U.S. government officials at Guantánamo use interrogation tactics that are tantamount to torture. These include methods such as physical beatings; extreme temperature changes; prolonged stress positions; sleep deprivation; withholding medical care; sexual abuse; and religious and cultural abuse.

5. **MYTH:** The rule of law exists at Guantánamo. Combatant Status Review Tribunals and Annual Review Boards ensure that detainees are imprisoned only if they are security threats.

FACT: CSRT's in essence are a sham—detainees cannot have lawyers present and do not have access to the evidence being used against them, evidence which may have been obtained by torture.

6. **MYTH:** The military commissions at Guantánamo would provide more fairness than is required under the Geneva Conventions.

FACT: Common Article 3 of the Geneva Conventions prohibits "the passing of sentences and the carrying out of executions without previous judgment pronounced by a regularly constituted court affording all the judicial guarantees which are recognized as indispensable by civilized peoples."

7. **MYTH:** Living conditions at Guantánamo are humane.

FACT: This is true for only a handful of men, while the vast majority of detainees live in stark, mind-numbing conditions.

8. **Myth:** Detainees receive good medical care at Guantánamo.

FACT: Serious medical conditions often go untreated, and detainees who have been physically abused sometimes go days without treatment. In addition, the mental health of many detainees is precarious.

9. **MYTH:** The U.S. honors the detainees' rights to practice their religion.

FACT: There has been no imam at prayer since the removal of Chaplain James Yee. The detainees are also frequently provoked during prayer times. In addition, religious abuse is an express interrogation tactic approved by the Defense Secretary.

10. **MYTH:** The U.S. wants to transfer detainees to the custody of other countries, but no country will take them.

FACT: Countries are willing to accept detainees but many are not willing to unlawfully detain them, as the U.S. is requesting they do.

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173A

Please support the *Tennant Lubell Detainee Fund*

Newton attorneys Doris Tennant and Ellen Lubell are volunteering their legal services to represent a detainee being held at Guantanamo. In carrying out their work, they *have incurred thousands of dollars in expenses.*

While many other volunteer lawyers are part of large firms that help defray these expenses (\$20,000 a year), Doris and Ellen are part of a small firm and have to rely on personal funds and donations from supporters.

Please make a contribution to help Doris Tennant and Ellen Lubell defray their costs, either by leaving cash or a check in the basket at the back of the room.

Checks should be made out to the ***Tennant Lubell Detainee Fund*** and can also be sent to:

TennantLubell LLC
288 Walnut Street, Suite 500
Newton, MA 02460

THANK YOU!

**Newton Dialogues on Peace and War
P.O. Box 610395
Newton, MA 02461**

DID YOU KNOW???

174A

Your school will give your name, address, and phone number to military recruiters — unless you take a simple step to stop them.

Under the “No Child Left Behind” Act, passed in 2001, public high schools must give a list of all students’ names, addresses, and phone numbers to military recruiters, whenever they ask for it. If the school refuses to give out the names, it risks losing federal funding.

When the military receives the list of names, they may call you repeatedly to try to convince you to join the Army, Navy, Air Force, or Marines when you finish school. (Parents in Newton have reported that their children have received numerous phone calls from military recruiters.)

BUT, it's your right – and it's really easy - to have your name NOT be on the list that the school administration sends to the military. Just notify your school's principal **in writing** that you don't want your name, address, and phone number given to military recruiters. According to FERPA (Family Educational Rights and Privacy Act) YOU CAN DO THIS YOURSELF, OR HAVE YOUR PARENT OR GUARDIAN DO IT.

Opt-out information and a form appear on p. 43 of the Students' Rights and Responsibilities Handbook. (Newton Schools, at this time, require the **parent/guardian** sign this form.) If you want to opt out of receiving military information but do want to receive material from colleges and universities, cross out the phrase “institutions of higher education” on the form.

A “don't give out my name” postcard is attached to this sheet. Until Newton changes its requirement, have your parent/guardian sign this card. Just mail it to your school principal or take it to school with you and turn it in at the office. You can also write a one-sentence request on any piece of paper if you don't have the postcard; no special form is required.

The list usually is sent to the military recruiters in early fall, so submitting your “don't give out my name” response **by September 23 is the best way to keep your name and contact information off the list.**

Why you might not want your name on that list:

1. School age students should not have to deal with an adult trying to persuade them to enter a career. Nothing a recruiter offers is guaranteed; recruiters are under pressure to fill a quota.
2. Making calls to individual students in their homes is an invasion of privacy.
3. In many situations recruiters continue to call even though you have no interest in enlisting.

If you want to join the military, you have time to consider the issues after you graduate. You don't need to be subjected to high pressure tactics now.

FOR MORE INFORMATION: Contact the Military Recruitment in Schools Committee of Newton Dialogues on Peace and War. E-mail address: ntndlg@comcast.net or P.O. Box 610395, Newton, MA 02461 www.newtondialog.org <<http://www.newtondialog.org/>>


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PROJECT
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Mayor David Cohen

Dear David,

We are concerned about the Newton Public Schools response to the "No Child Left Behind Act of 2001". As required by this act (a copy of which is attached), the Newton School System must make available the names, addresses and telephone numbers of secondary school students upon a request made by military recruiters, unless either the parent or student requests in writing that the school not release this information. This request to not provide the information is known as "opt-out". If **such a request is not made** in writing, the information will be sent to the military recruiter on the request of the military recruiter. The **notification to the parent and the option to sign a request to "opt-out"** to prevent such military recruitment access required by this act is on one of the last pages of the Students' Rights and Responsibilities Handbook. Enclosed is a copy of this page for the Newton South High School Summer Information Booklet for 2005-2006. It is my understanding that the Information Booklet for the upcoming school year has been sent to the publisher but has not been returned yet. It is my expectation that the wording will be the same as has been the case for the last few years.

We are particularly concerned about four issues:

1. The notification to the parent about access to Student Information required by this act is contained in small print on almost the last page of a multi-page booklet, and there is no explanatory discussion of the implications of signing or not signing the statement. We feel that this is such an important issue that there should be more details given about this "opt-out" option and that separate mailings be sent to parents about the requirements and options of this law. In addition, we believe that information about the ability to 'opt-out' be widely distributed to the students.
 2. The present form of the Newton School opt-out request **combines** the issue of opt-out and release of information to both military recruiters AND institutions of higher education. The law does not require this combination; this linking does not provide the option to those parents/students who DO WANT to have the information provided to institutions of higher learning but NOT to military recruiters. We believe that these two potential transmissions of student information (military recruiters and institutions of higher learning) **should be clearly and explicitly separated**, that the parent and student clearly be advised that they can have distribution to institutions of higher education and not to military recruiters, and either the parent or the student and sign for each of these options. (The Boston Public Schools use an excellent form for this – enclosed).
 3. Although the law clearly states that **either the parent or the student can make the opt-out request**, the present form of the notification indicates that only the Parent/Guardian can opt-out with his/her signature. I include documentation that this interpretation is incorrect – the student can sign such an opt-out request. We
- 

suggest that the handbook provide a separate form for the student to sign requesting that their information not be provided to military recruiters.

4. It is our understanding from discussions with the school department that the Newton legal office has stated that the student must be at least 18 years of age in order to legally sign an "Opt-out" request. I have conferred with both the relevant US Dept of Education agency responsible for the enforcement of the Family Educational Rights and Privacy Act (FERPA) and with Massachusetts ACLU and both state unequivocally that such a legal ruling is incorrect and that **there is no age limitation** on the ability of the student to make an independent and binding request.

We very much appreciate the support you have given to the different efforts of Newton Dialog, and would like to meet with you to discuss the above issues with you. We believe that the **time may be critical** since it is our understanding that the Newton School system can provide all such information to the military recruiters (on their request) unless there is a written 'opt-out' sent to the school administration before the latter part of September.

We are concerned that accurate and complete information be provided to both the parents and secondary school students prior to the time that the information is sent to any outside agency.

Octo Barnett Susan Mirsky Louise Bruyn (for Newton Dialog)

Dear School Administrator,

This letter is to request that no information about my child/me be disclosed to any military recruiter without my prior written consent.

Student's name _____

Signature _____
(Parent, guardian or student)

Date _____

178A

Newton Dialogues on Peace and War
PO Box 610395
Newton, MA 02461

*Mike
Prokosch
May, 2003*

Due to scheduling conflicts at the Eliot Church, our next meeting will be held on Sunday, May 4, at 7:30 P.M.

The main focus of the evening will be an interactive, one-hour workshop conducted by **United for a Fair Economy**:

War and the Economy

- ♦ What's the link between state budget cuts and military spending?
- ♦ Will war get us out of this recession?
- ♦ Do we have to spend so much on war?

Our weekly vigil continues, just as the issues persist. Every Thursday, 5 to 6 P.M., corner of Beacon and Center Streets.

December,
2003

Changing Confrontation into Dialogue Tools and Practice

Facilitator: Peg Senturia, LICSW, MBA
pegsenturia@att.net

179A

Newton Dialogues
December 14, 2003

Goals:

1. Increase participants' skills in initiating and conducting productive conversations about peace and justice with family, friends, neighbors, colleagues, and the general public through
 - Clarifying types of conversations and how to choose when to engage in each one.
 - Effective questioning and reflective listening.
 - Taking risks and using wonder to open space for new thinking and speaking.
2. Discuss and plan applications for participants individually and for Newton Dialogues.

Agenda:

- Introduction
- Presentation: Tools for Productive Conversations
- Activity: Starting a Dialogue
- Small Group Discussion: Lessons Learned
- Full Group Discussion: What's Next?
- Ending

Tools for Productive Conversations

1/1/04
80A

Active Listening: Discovering the Other's Story

Effective Questioning: open-ended questions

Reflective Listening: paraphrase, clarify, combine

Reading and Using Body Language: height, angle, and gesture

What's Different about Dialogue?

Feeling Safe

Slow down, reflect, open space for new thinking and speaking.
Maintain dignity and respect.

Fostering Wonder and Risk Taking

Get beyond emotional reactivity.
Be open to changing your own mind.
Share your own uncertainties and doubts.

Speaking Heart to Heart

Make "I" statements.
Share your passion and concern.
Appreciate the other's passion and concern.

Starting a New Conversation

Recognize and explicitly avoid the old conversation.

Describe a third story.

Issue an invitation.

Resources

Public Conversations Project, <http://www.publicconversations.org>

Douglas Stone, Bruce Patton, Sheila Heen, *Difficult Conversations: How to Discuss What Matters Most*, 1999.

Activity: Starting a Dialogue
(Total time: 25 minutes)

1. Planning and silent rehearsing (5 minutes)

- **Find a partner** for practicing your skills in starting a dialogue.
- **Together choose one of the situations on the flipchart.**
- **Decide who will be the first initiator and decide how to track your time.**
- Then take a couple of minutes to identify **silently** the roots of your passion and concern and areas of your own genuine wonder or uncertainty. Also think about how to bring in the difficulties you anticipate.

2. Try to start the first dialogue. (5 minutes.)

- 3. Give feedback to each other.** Stick to what happened and be as concrete as possible. Take turns and then discuss together. The space is for any notes. **(5 minutes)**

First the initiator: Were you able to stay open? Were you able to engage in dialogue? What do you think worked? Didn't work? How did you feel? Was there anything new or surprising?

Then the person approached: What did the initiator do to encourage you to open up? To engage in dialogue? What discouraged you? How did you feel? Was there anything new or surprising?

- 4. Try to start a dialogue again, using the *same* situation, but *with the roles reversed*.** Again allow 5 minutes for the dialogue and 5 minutes for feedback. **(10 minutes)**

January 19, 2004
Workshop
183A

Newton Dialogues on Peace and War
January 19th, 1:00 p.m. - 5:00p.m.
Eliot Church

A Time of Reflection and Planning - In the Spirit of Martin Luther King, Jr.*

Any real change in the status quo depends on continued, creative action to sharpen the conscience of the nation and establish a climate in which even the most recalcitrant elements are forced to admit that change is necessary. . . Never assume that anyone understands. It is your job to keep people informed and aware.

- 1:00 - 1:15 Arrival and welcome.
- 1:15 - 1:30 Introduction - Where do we go from here?
 -Sweeping grandiose goals do not change with time. On the other hand, specific and detailed goals must change as circumstances change.
 -The first step in the change process is raising awareness. The second step is to involve others in the planning process.
- 1:30-2:15 Small group discussion about where Newton Dialogues should go from here.
 -Remember that the wider range of opinions you hear, the better chance you have of extracting truth.
 -People are going to have differences. You should be able to disagree without being disagreeable.
- 2:15-2:45 Report out from small groups.
- 2:45 - 3:00 Break - Facilitators will connect and collapse topics from the small group report out to present a shorter list for prioritizing.
- 3:00 - 3:15 Present final list of topics and prioritize for small group discussion.
 -Create a blueprint for yourself--one that you can utilize in your future leadership endeavors. Become your own teacher.
- 3:15 -4:15 Small group work
 1. What issues on this topic should we be exploring?
 2. What action steps should we consider?
 -Remember that many issues you have not cleared up intellectually may be solved in the sphere of practical action and experience.
 -Remember that no work is insignificant.
- 4:14 - 4:45 Report out of suggested action steps.
 -A final victory is an accumulation of many short-term encounters.
- 4:45 - 5:00 Songs and closure
 -The one thing that keeps the fire of revolutions burning is the ever-present flame of hope. Remember that hope really, finally means a refusal to be stopped. It means going on anyhow. Hope motivates and inspires, it causes people to take action.

*All quotes are taken from *Martin Luther King, Jr. On Leadership: Inspiration & Wisdom for Challenging Times* by Donald T. Phillips. See reverse side for excerpts from Dr. King's speeches on Vietnam.

184A

Newton Dialogues on Peace and War - January 19, 2004
A Time of Reflection and Planning - In the Spirit of Martin Luther King, Jr.

Excerpts from *Beyond Vietnam* in *The Autobiography of Martin Luther King, Jr.*

-There is. . . a very obvious and almost facile connection between the war in Vietnam and the struggle I and others have been waging in America. A few years ago there was a shining moment in that struggle. It seemed as if there was a real promise of hope for the poor--both black and white--through the poverty program. There were experiments, hopes, new beginnings. Then came the buildup in Vietnam, and I watched this program broken and eviscerated as if it were some idle political plaything of a society gone mad on war. And I knew that America would never invest the necessary funds or energies in rehabilitation of its poor so long as adventures like Vietnam continued to draw men and skills and money like some demonic, destructive suction tube. So I was increasingly compelled to see the war as an enemy of the poor and to attack it as such.

Perhaps a more tragic recognition of reality took place when it became clear to me that the war was doing far more than devastating the hopes of the poor at home. It was sending their sons and their brothers and their husbands to fight and to die in extraordinarily high proportions relative to the rest of the population. . . I knew that I could never again raise my voice against the violence of the oppressed in the ghettos without having first spoken clearly to the greatest purveyor of violence in the world today: my own government. For the sake of those boys, for the sake of this government, for the sake of the hundreds of thousands trembling under our violence, I cannot be silent.

. . . the words of the late John F. Kennedy come back to haunt us. Five years ago he said, "Those who make peaceful revolution impossible will make violent revolution inevitable." Increasingly, by choice or by accident, this is the role our nation has taken: the role of those who make peaceful revolution impossible by refusing to give up the privileges and the pleasures that come from the immense profits of overseas investments. I am convinced that if we are to get on the right side of the world revolution, we as a nation must undergo a radical revolution of values. . .

A true revolution of values will soon look uneasily on the glaring contrast of poverty and wealth. With righteous indignation, it will look across the seas and see individual capitalists of the West investing huge sums of money in Asia, Africa, and South America, only to take the profits out with no concern for the social betterment of the countries, and say: "This is not just." . . The Western arrogance of feeling that it has everything to teach others and nothing to learn from them is not just.

A true revolution of values will lay hands on the world order and say of war: "This way of settling differences is not just." . . .

We must move past indecision to action. We must face new ways to speak for peace in Vietnam and justice throughout the developing world, a world that borders on our doors. If we do not act, we shall surely be dragged down the long, dark and shameful corridors of time reserved for those who possess power without compassion, might without morality, and strength without sight.

Now let us begin. Now let us rededicate ourselves to the long and bitter, but beautiful, struggle for a new world order. . . Shall we say the odds are too great? Shall we tell them the struggle is too hard? . . . The choice is ours, and though we might prefer it otherwise, we must choose in this crucial moment of human history.

What is to be done – reflections on the NDPW gathering on January 19th

Over 40 people gathered on 1/19 at Eliot Church to discuss NDPW – the next step - where are we going and how do we get there.

About 25% came from the work group. The majority were people who were involved in frequent but less intensely than work group. There were a few people for whom this was their first NDPW event.

The afternoon had 3 segments.

The first was devoted to exploring areas that people wanted NDPW to address, This was followed by a plenary session where the range of topics was consolidated and a few areas of intense concern were defined. The goal of the last part of the afternoon was to define the issues in a particular area and actions to be taken.

In the first half the scope was varied; clear themes appeared.

A major theme - US foreign policy - became an umbrella for several topics: US isolationism and military aggression, and the US version of "empire". These were related to: retreat from treaties, the invasion and occupation of Iraq and Afghanistan, militarization of space, the viability of the UN. Globalization and promotion of US economic interests at other countries expense was a prominent issue as well.

Three other themes seemed to stand-alone

1. The election loomed large in everyone's mind - the focus being:
 - a. defeat Bush
 - b. concerns that voters would be disenfranchised.
2. The impact on the economy particularly on health and education. [this was linked to militarism via the apparent bipolar choice of bloated military budget vs anorectic domestic social contract budget.]
3. The conflict between Israel and Palestine

Issues that did not come up were: civil liberties and USAPA 2, the treatment of immigrants and military prisoners, the biolab, and the questions of name change.

The first segment also raised some issue of process, which was reinforced in the second session. The theme of increased outreach to both members and other community groups came up repeatedly.

Some guiding principles were raised but not explored further. These were: defining ourselves clearly and staying focused - not spreading too thin

In the second segment 5 areas of concern were selected: 1) Foreign policy; 2) the economic impact of globalization and war, 3) Israel/Palestine; 4) the election; and 5) a general area devoted to "getting attention".



What is to be done – reflections on the NDPW gathering on January 19th

These seem to be discrete areas with some overlap in 1 and 2 around militarism, prosecution of wars, economic consequences to US and other countries, and empire/globalization, and military spending. The Globalization group generated the largest list of focal points and action steps. Among them was the suggestion that we need an subcommittee on globalization.

The Israel/Palestine section did not define issues, however the action component reflected unspoken policy issues:

1. Creating a dialogue within NDPW about this issue
2. The Wall
3. The Geneva accords
4. The Mosaic program and the possibility of following it with a panel discussion.

These all speak to a need for a fuller exploration of this complex issue.¹

In the election group the action suggestions again reiterated the theme of outreach - high schools, colleges and the Newton Democratic Committee. We need to plan for action in the future when support will be needed for Democratic candidates in swing states.

The 5th group generated a list of actions for specific linkages to other groups.

Almost every NDPW activity was viewed as needing greater time and scope: the web site, the table, providing more speakers, greater involvement with cable programs etc. No suggestions were made about expanding the vigil. There were no comments on Alternative Views

Conclusion

The topics that most concern people are the ones that NDPW has been focusing on – with the exception of globalization which we have just begun to explore. Some topics the work group is concerned about did not come up. This suggests that we may need to raise awareness on these issues or come to terms with the fact these do not loom large in our legend.

The caution to stay close to our original purpose and not to spread ourselves too thin is worthy of further discussion

There is a perceptions we are not doing enough to link with other groups, and educate the public.

The concerns raised about areas to be addressed reinforced some of what we are doing -

¹ . I suspect the topic elicits a kind of schizophrenia - distress at Israeli belligerence and a concern that mosaic with present a distorted perspective about Jews and Israel. In this arena, unlike the invasion of Iraq, globalization, or even the voting machine debacle, it is harder to define the good guys and the bad guys.

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What is to be done – reflections on the NDPW gathering on January 19th

struggling with I/P, the elections and the wars we are engaged in. The focus on the economy and globalization is prominent concern and needs further exploration.

At the end of the day the most repeated theme was – increased outreach and visibility in the community.



January 19, 2004 A Time of Reflection and Planning - In the Spirit of MLK, Jr.

Part I - Where do we go from here? Small group report out

Suggestions for topics:

- Israel Palestine conflict
- American occupation of Iraq and Afghanistan
- Nature of war and destruction
- Bush's contempt for international treaties; treaties ignored, revoked, etc.
 - Make visible the invisible - Bush's decisions made behind the scenes
- Link issues to our foreign policy: environment, retreat from treaties, economy, civil rights
- Link peace and the environment
- Distribute a positive vision for US foreign policy; educate more broadly
- Militarization of space, including treaty dimensions
- Expansion of nuclear weapons: testing and development in the US
- Election
 - Get information about issues by each candidate
 - How can we shape the outcome? Democratic platform, go to swing states
 - Other ways to get involved
- Electoral disenfranchisement: voting machines
- See ourselves as part of the global community; UN viability and participation
- Globalization: domination of poor by wealthy organizations
- History of American empire building
- Media - limited, skewed, bias
 - NewTV and multiple views from the Middle East/community opposition
- Terrorism and alternatives to deal with this world-wide problem
 - Manipulation of terrorist threat
- Economics: war/weapons vs. education/health

Suggestions for process:

- Outreach to membership for more involvement
- "wholesale organize" connect to other groups: churches, community groups, unions
- Use small group neighborhood discussions
- Education role of NDPW, fact sheets on different issues with common questions and answers
- Better use of technology to educate, need to increase our skills on internet

Suggestions for guiding principles:

- Limit the number of issues we tackle; narrow focus will make us more effective
- Stay close to the issues at our base, war and US aggression
- Define what we are for.

January 19, 2004 A Time of Reflection and Planning - In the Spirit of MLK, Jr.

Part II - Small groups focusing on action plans for individual topics.

#1 Foreign Policy: Focal points

Iraq, Afghanistan, Syria, Korea Venezuela Guatemala
 US against democracy
 Broader questions of terrorism

Action Steps

Create single-page fact sheets on issues and leaflet on primary day
 (Voting is not enough)
 Expand tabling activities: longer time, more locations, workshop to
 prepare more people to table
 Movie series at West Newton Cinema
 Regular programs in schools and libraries
 Small groups in neighborhoods

#2 Economic impact of globalization and war: Focal points

Effects of military spending on Newton, state funding, federal funding
 Get information about cost of living increase
 Effect of our reliance on oil
 Review: resources for war on poverty vs. spending on Vietnam war
 International law
 Generate a statement on the impact of globalization policies
 Create publicity about jobs, health, environment, NAFTA, etc.
 Pressure of multinational organizations
 Ethical investments

Action Steps:

Poll information in ND and other groups
 Identify other local groups (homeless vs. military spending)
 ND become a member of a coalition; join with multicultural council for the
 aged, for example)
 Work on election
 Create a sub committee on globalization
 Plan afternoon programs to focus on a specific topic
 Organize talks at the library
 Create visuals to educate - use cartoons

#3 Elections: Focal point

Beat Bush campaign

Action Steps:

Outreach to colleges and high schools
 Voter registration with high school seniors
 Go into swing state
 Organize around the primaries
 Outreach to democratic city committee, Paul Shiman, contact
 Fact sheets - orange alert theme
 Target Nadar not to run
 Develop convention strategies

January 19, 2004 A Time of Reflection and Planning - In the Spirit of MLK, Jr.

#4 Palestine/Israel

Action Steps:

Support Palestinian and Israeli groups working together
 Show video about the wall
 Have discussion groups - bring down the wall campaign
 More dialog *within* ND
 Develop more skills in talking about emotional issues
 Mosaics - have a panel of different points of view
 Organize small groups
 On cable demonstrate a standard for dialogues
 What does productive dialogue look like?
 Speakers on the Geneva accord, a Refusenik, etc.
 Develop a speakers' bureau

#5 Vehicles for getting attention on issues

Link up with other organizations; example, Joan Kaplan's program
 on Newton TV, What Matters.
 Link up with Green Decade (a liberal group but not necessarily anti-war?)
 Links with high schools
 Disseminate information on issues and have a follow up with
 programs from last year
 Increase number of tablers
 Use web site even more regarding meetings/events plus *Alternative Views*
 web site

January 16, 2006

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KEY

Yellow: The question about impact is what organized the group around the war originally.

Red: The red stars indicate action steps, either action in process (such as the statement on Israel/Palestine conflict), action contemplated (such as a position statement on the war), or the question of action steps on a number of issues related to the war.

Green: Themes and sub categories of concerns connected to the war, which warrant our consideration for next steps, with bioterrorism already a focus for a spring meeting and discussion of election activities in process.

Gray: Related to the war but also a larger framework is an economics focus that has many subcategories which did not get named at our meeting.

Added issues

The economic perspective posed in gray need to be complemented by a sociological perspective. Free trade is a myth. If you put it in your diagram, you need to contrapose it with fair trade. Mainstream economics is modeled after capitalist markets. We need civil markets.

The problem today is that nationalism and capitalism (& economism) have joined forces in a new age of technology. The result could be global self-destruction. Governments focus on business and economic development. They need now to focus on the development of a civil society.

February, 2006

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Newton Dialogues On Peace & War IMMEDIATE WITHDRAWAL FROM IRAQ

The February meeting of Newton Dialogues was devoted to a workshop-style discussion on U. S. withdrawal from Iraq. The purpose of the meeting was to develop answers to commonly raised arguments against U. S. withdrawal.

Critics of withdrawal say that even if it was wrong for the United States to go to war against Iraq, the U. S. needs to remain there until security is restored and reconstruction has been carried out. Critics of withdrawal stress the responsibility that U. S. citizens have to insure the safety of Iraqis and to help them rebuild their country. Leaving, the critics say, will only expose ordinary Iraqis to civil war and continued suffering from the damage to the country's economic and social infrastructure.

We in Newton Dialogues share a concern for the Iraqi people, and we have criticized the war in large part because we anticipated that it would result in deaths and injuries to ordinary Iraqis and would destroy the infrastructure that sustains life in modern societies. Nonetheless, we think that this responsibility can best be met a cessation of the war and an orderly but immediate withdrawal of U. S. troops.

At our February meeting, discussions among several small working groups generated the following arguments for immediate withdrawal and against the idea that our obligations to the Iraqi people require us to remain in Iraq.

1. Our presence makes things worse. We are convinced that the presence of the U. S. military is a main cause of the continuing violence in Iraq. Although the argument against U. S. withdrawal portrays our role as beneficial and humane, most Iraqis are suspicious of our presence and our motives.

Consider the results of a recent poll in Iraq. It shows that

- 80% of Iraqis believe that the U.S. plans to remain in Iraq permanently. (79% of Shia, 92% of Sunnis, 67% of Kurds).
- 76% assume that the U.S. would refuse to withdraw if the Iraqi government asked us to leave within six months. (Shia 67%, Sunni 94%, Kurds 77%).
- 47% approve of "attacks on US-led forces (23% strongly). 88% of Sunnis approve, with 77% approving strongly; 41% of Shia approve (9% strongly); 16% of Kurds approve (8% strongly).

The fact that our presence inflames the situation and prevents positive development has been acknowledged by our own military leaders. General George Casey, the top U.S. commander in Iraq, testified to Congress that the large American military presence in Iraq "feeds the notion of occupation" and "extends the amount of time that it will take for Iraqi security forces to become self-reliant."ⁱ



2. **The U. S. must renounce claims to permanent bases and to Iraqi oil.** While the U. S. has gone to war on the pretext of weapons of mass destruction and bringing democracy to Iraq, there is widespread suspicion that the real reasons involve a desire for permanent military bases in Iraq and for control of Iraqi oil. The United States needs to combat these suspicions by publicly renouncing these aims. Plans of this sort only inflame the relations between our country and the people of Iraq and other Muslim countries in the Middle East. Among those Iraqis who approve of attacks on U. S. troops, 90% believe that the US plans to have permanent bases in Iraq.ⁱⁱ

General John Abizaid, the top American commander in the Middle East, testifying in Congress said that it was vital for the U.S. to "reduce our military footprint" in the region and to "make clear to the people of the region that we have no designs on their territory and resources."

A bill has been introduced in Congress (the Iraq Sovereignty Promotion Act, H.R. 3142) calls on Congress to state that "It is the policy of the United States not to maintain a long-term or permanent military presence in Iraq." As long as we fail to do this, people in Iraq and throughout the Middle East will view us with justified suspicion even while our own media portray our role as benevolent and idealistic.ⁱⁱⁱ

3. We need to turn over security support for Iraq to international organizations.

Since we are a big source of the current violence in Iraq, we need to remove ourselves. Nonetheless, our departure will leave the Iraqi people exposed to civil strife, and we do have a responsibility to be concerned about this and to take steps to protect them. This protection, however, must be provided by other people whose presence is not as inflammatory as our own.

Polls do show that Iraqis are concerned about the aftermath of a U. S. withdrawal. In spite of strong hostility to the U. S. occupation, Iraqis are concerned about what would happen after a U. S. withdrawal.

- While 70% of Iraqis favor setting a timeline for the withdrawal of US forces, they divide on when this should occur:
- 35% favor withdrawal within six months;
- 35% favor a gradual reduction over two years;
- 29% favor reduction "only as the security situation improves in Iraq."

To meet both the needs and the concerns of Iraqis, the U. S. should support efforts by the Arab League and by the United Nations to provide some forms of peace-keeping presence in Iraq. As part of our continuing responsibility, we should provide financial support for these efforts. The key point here is that there may well be a need for security assistance, but it must be carried out by others who are not tainted by our track record in Iraq.

4. We must provide continuing support for the reconstruction of Iraq, but the reconstruction must be carried out by others. Just as with security concerns, so there

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are legitimate, substantial needs for the reconstruction of Iraq, but the United States is not the appropriate party to provide this. As long as reconstruction is carried out by the U. S. government and U. S. corporations, there will be continuing suspicions. Indeed, the track record for reconstruction is a disgrace, marked as it has been by inefficiency and corruption. We need both local Iraqi and international organizations to carry out the reconstruction, and our responsibility to the people of Iraq can be honored by providing strong financial support for these efforts.

A Responsible Position on Ending the War in Iraq

The U. S. war against Iraq has been a disaster. It was immoral and illegal to launch it in the first place, and it has caused grievous harm, not only to the people of the United States and the people of Iraq but in fact to people throughout the world. It has done this by increasing the intensity of hostility between the Muslim world and the West. As many experts on terrorism have noted, the war played into the hands of those who promote this conflict and who seek to recruit anti-U.S. and anti-Western to engage in acts of violence.

It is time to end the war and to move on to genuine reconstruction, which will involve not only the reconstruction of Iraq but the reconstruction of the relationship between the United States and the rest of the world community.

ⁱ Quotes from General Casey and General Abizaid may be found at the Friends Committee on National Legislation website at http://www.fcnl.org/issues/item.php?item_id=1638&issue_id=35

ⁱⁱ Public opinion data can be found at http://worldpublicopinion.org/pipa/articles/home_page/165.php?nid=&id=&pnt=165&lb.

ⁱⁱⁱ Information on this bill may be found at the Friends Committee on National Legislation website at http://www.fcnl.org/issues/item.php?item_id=1506&issue_id=35.

Making the Case for Leaving Iraq

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While there is a strong consensus in Newton Dialogues that the war ought not to have happened, some members have been disturbed by the idea of the US simply leaving behind a terrible mess that we are responsible for having created.

If "exit as soon as possible" is the answer, how do we answer those who say we have a continuing responsibility toward the people of Iraq?

To work through these issues, let us confront the argument against near-term withdrawal. Boiling it down to basics, opponents of near-term withdrawal say something like the following.

The Argument Against Withdrawing From Iraq in the Near Future

Even if it was wrong to start the war in Iraq, we in the United States now have a responsibility to the people of Iraq.

First, we have a responsibility for their safety and security. If we leave before peaceful, secure conditions are established, there will be continuing violence, possibly even civil war.

Second, we have a responsibility to help Iraq reconstruct its infrastructure so that its people can live a decent life. If we leave before adequate reconstruction, the people of Iraq will continue to suffer from the effects of the war we initiated.

For these reasons, the goal of near-term withdrawal of U. S. military forces from Iraq is irresponsible and inflicts additional harm on the people of Iraq.

**How can we best answer this challenge
to near-term withdrawal of U.S. troops from Iraq?**

A DECLARATION OF MORAL OUTRAGE

**A new initiative in the struggle for peace and
justice in Iraq**

Sunday, March 13 7:30 pm

Eliot Church

corner of Centre and Church Streets, Newton Corner

Join us for an evening of discussion and activism. Help us launch the **Declaration of Moral Outrage**, a statement expressing our personal and collective outrage at the Bush Administration's immoral, illegal, ill-conceived, destructive, and costly invasion and protracted war of occupation in Iraq.

The purpose of the meeting is to engage our neighbors and fellow citizens in the process of spreading a Declaration of Moral Outrage across the country and around the world. Members of Newton Dialogues on Peace and War will discuss the goals and development of the Declaration of Moral Outrage, share our plans to post and publicize the DOMO in public places, and work with participants to disseminate a Declaration of Moral Outrage throughout our personal networks, organizations, and communities.

Newton Dialogues on Peace and War
P.O. Box 610395
Newton, MA 02461

Donald Rumsfeld
Secretary of Defense
1000 Defense Pentagon
Washington, DC 20301

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March 9, 2006

Dear Secretary Rumsfeld,

We are writing to you as members of Newton Dialogues on Peace and War, a community group that was formed shortly after September 11, 2001, in Newton, Massachusetts. The mission of Newton Dialogues is "to promote public discussion, dialogue, and peaceful action, so that responses to terrorism and other challenges facing our country will be matters of public debate and subject to the democratic process." We believe that "only in this way will policies emerge that are grounded in the fundamental American values of peace and justice."

On March 19, 2006, to mark the third anniversary of the invasion of Iraq, we are planning a public presentation of our "Declaration of Moral Outrage." This statement, which is attached, has garnered nearly a thousand signatures in our community and represents widespread sentiments about the Iraq war among the residents of Newton.

I am writing to invite you to the ceremony as a representative of our government and to accept the statement on behalf of the Bush Administration. You are a key architect of the current foreign and military policies of the United States, and we believe it is essential for you to hear why many citizens do not support them.

The ceremony will take place at 2:00 PM on the steps of the City Hall in Newton. We look forward to seeing you there.

Yours sincerely,

Octo Barnett
Susan Mirsky
Steve Nathanson

Jane Brown
James Murdock
Grey Osterud

Jerry Manning
Linda Nathanson
Dan Shaw

A Declaration of Moral Outrage

We are outraged at the illegal and immoral invasion and occupation of Iraq.

We are outraged at the fraudulent justification for the war and the lies and propaganda that the government uses to sustain it.

Our government and armed forces are committing war crimes and crimes against humanity: torture of prisoners, wanton killing of civilians, destruction of cities, massive displacement of populations. We are outraged by these crimes and ashamed that they are being done in our name.

We are outraged that the Bush administration exhibits callous disregard for the lives and well being of our soldiers and their families.

We are outraged at Bush administration's stated intention to exploit Iraqi oil resources to pay for the cost of the war and occupation. Control over their natural resources belongs to the peoples and sovereign government of Iraq.

The war impoverished the peoples of Iraq and destroyed the physical and cultural fabric of their country. The United States should pay for what it has destroyed.

We are outraged that the Bush administration is squandering our public resources to fund this war of occupation.

Each day the war goes on prolongs the moral wrong. It was wrong to send our troops to Iraq and it is wrong to keep them there. The possibility of a political solution is fading rapidly as the war of occupation continues.

This war, which violates principles and values that we hold dear, must be brought to an end.

We will not be silenced by the government's fear-mongering about terrorism and national security.

We are signing our names as testimony to our moral commitment to turn our nation away from pre-emptive unilateral wars and rejoin the community of peace loving peoples throughout the world.

Signature	Printed Name

The Declaration of Moral Outrage Explained

Signing the Declaration of Moral Outrage is a way of publicly expressing opposition to the immoral invasion and occupation of Iraq. Our moral outrage becomes visible when signed Declarations of Moral Outrage are posted in public places. We seek to spread this campaign throughout our community, across the country, and around the world. Our vision of peace is global; we plan to start locally.

The Declaration of Moral Outrage is not a petition. Petitions traditionally ask public officials to attend to a plea on the petitioners' behalf. Petitions can be powerful tools for showing political leaders that a significant portion of the population wants them to act. But, with the exception of newspaper advertisements, the signatures remain private, and only the total numbers count. The Declaration of Moral Outrage is a public statement that each and every one of us can make. By sharing our outrage at this war of occupation, we move others to express theirs. Acting together, individually and in groups, we can help end the war.

Newton Dialogues on Peace and War plans to collect 1000 signatures on 100 pages. When we have met that initial goal, we will post these pages in places where government officials as well as the public can see them: on town halls, libraries, and courthouses throughout Newton and the greater Boston area. At some sites, we will hold public events calling attention to the declaration. Since posted declarations and demonstrations are evanescent, we will also take photographs to post on our web site.

The Declaration of Moral Outrage reveals the bankruptcy of the "morality" used by the Bush administration and neoconservatives to justify this illegal and aggressive war. Freedom and democracy cannot be spread to foreign countries by means of military force. The time has come for us to reclaim the fundamental American – and human – values that we share.

If people in power believe in the principles of peace and justice they claim to espouse, they will join us in expressing moral outrage about the war and seeking to end it. Our Declaration of Moral Outrage states clearly that the war and occupation of Iraq must be brought to a rapid end. We hope that public officials who see how many people oppose the war will put pressure on the Bush administration to end its policy of death and destruction. For us, making peace means ending the occupation, bringing our troops home, leaving no bases in place, respecting the sovereignty of the Iraqi government, and leaving Iraqi oil resources under the control of the peoples of Iraq.

Sign the Declaration of Moral Outrage and join a growing movement among peace loving people throughout the world. Contact us via email at dshaw@bu.edu or at Newton Dialogues on Peace and War P.O. Box 610395

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Draft Press Release

On Sunday, March 19, Newton residents observed the third anniversary of the invasion and occupation of Iraq by gathering on the stairs of City Hall to present the Declaration of Moral Outrage, signed by 750 people in Newton over the past year, to Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld. Rumsfeld's office did not respond to the official invitation sent by Newton Dialogues on Peace and War, so a cardboard cutout stood in for him. The fifty or so hardy antiwar activists who endured the cold read their Declaration of Moral Outrage out loud and then attached signed copies to the figure of Defense Secretary Rumsfeld.

Several speakers argued that the prolongation of the war, which was begun under false pretenses about nonexistent weapons of mass destruction and continues under the cloak of rhetoric about democratization, is only making the situation in Iraq worse. Thousands of U.S. soldiers have been killed and grievously injured; tens of thousands of Iraqis, most of them civilians and many of them women and children, have died. Torture, indefinite imprisonment without charge, and other crimes against humanity are being justified in the name of freedom, they lamented. The level of violence has not declined, the infrastructure still lies in ruins, sectarian conflict among Iraqis has increased, and the whole region has been destabilized. The war has not made the world safer, NDPW members concluded.

In accepting a framed copy of the Declaration of Moral Outrage, Mayor David Cohen pointed out that the war has also had direct and indirect effects on Newton. The billions of tax dollars going to the military to make war on Iraq could better be devoted to peaceful purposes here at home. The erosion of civil liberties that is often justified by national governments at war is also a serious problem, Mayor Cohen declared. As the recent incident at the Newton Free Library indicated, citizens must actively defend their rights to privacy and free access to information. Public debate is vital to democratic life.

Submitted by Grey Osterud and David Ascher, for Newton Dialogues on Peace and War
GO phone 617-332-7037, address 3 Keefe Ave., Newton, MA 02464

DA contact information

NDPW website address and PO box

Attach copy of DOMO

Text 331 words

201A

3 Keefe Avenue
Newton, MA 02464 USA
Phone: 617-332-7037
25 September 2008

The Honorable Edward M. Kennedy
John F. Kennedy Federal Building, Suite 2400
Boston, MA 02203

Dear Senator Kennedy;

On Saturday, September 20, 2008, we participated in the "Millions Doors for Peace" campaign cosponsored by many antiwar groups, including Boston's United for Justice with Peace. In just two hours, while standing with this petition outside the Newton public library, we collected 125 signatures on this declaration:

We, the undersigned, call upon our Senators and Representative to immediately support and pass legislation that will set a specific date to bring U.S. troops home from Iraq within a year.

We realize that you have many important tasks on your personal and political agenda, and we appreciate the stand you have taken in favor of ending the war in Iraq. As economic woes become more prominent public concerns, we want to remind policymakers that the continuation of this unjust and costly war damages the United States, the Iraqi people, and our relations with the rest of the world.

Thank you for your consideration of this message from your constituents.

Sincerely,

Grey Osterud and Gerald S. Manning

Enc.: Petition forms carrying 125 signatures

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, DC 20510-2101

October 17, 2008

Mr. Gerald Manning & Mr. Grey Osertud
3 Keefe Avenue
Newton, MA 02464

Dear Friends,

Thank you for your letter and petition supporting an end to the Iraq war within one year and for letting me know about the "Million Doors for Peace" campaign.

As you have demonstrated through your petition, the American people want to know when this war will end. They want to know how much longer it will take and how much more America will have to spend in blood and treasure. Staying the course has put our troops in the impossible position of winning every battle, but never being able to win the war.

We have to change our policy now. Our troops have served bravely and honorably and we must continue to support them. Most importantly, however, we must get them out of Iraq as soon as possible. Until we do, they will continue shedding blood in the streets of Baghdad and our national security will remain at risk.

Again, thank you for taking the time to contact me on this important issue. I will be sure to keep your sentiments in mind.

With best wishes and warm regards,

Sincerely,



Edward M. Kennedy

2400 JFK Federal Building
Boston, MA 02203
EMK/tdc/dhf



Hollier's
2003A

~~1999~~
2000A

NEWTON DIALOGUES'
ANNUAL SONG AND
POETRY FEST HERE
TONIGHT!



Study War No More

1. I'm gonna lay down my sword and shield
Down by the riverside [3 times]
I'm gonna lay down my sword and shield.
Aint gonna study war no more.

Chorus

I aint gonna study war no more,
Study war no more.
Aint gonna study war no more. [Repeat.]

2. We're gonna join hands around the
world....
3. We're gonna wage peace until it comes....

Last Night I Had the Strangest Dream

Last night I had the strangest dream
I'd never dreamed before.
I dreamed the world had all agreed
To put an end to war.

I dreamed I saw a might room,
And the room was filled with men and
women,
And the paper they were signing said
They'd never fight again.

And when the paper was all signed
And a million copies made,
They all joined hands and bowed their heads.
And grateful prayers were prayed.

And the people in the streets below
Were dancing round and round
While swords and guns and uniforms
Were scattered on the ground.

Last night I had the strangest dream....

JOIN US!!

****Vigils** every Thursday, Beacon and Centre
Streets, Newton Centre, 5-6.
****Monthly meetings**, second Sunday every
month, the Eliot Church, Newton Corner.
****Tabling**, Saturdays, Newton Library, 12:30.
****Check our frequently updated web site at**
www.newtondialog.org.

Newton Dialogues



On Peace & War

Just Ain't Right

I don't want to be no bully nation.
Not in my name. No way! That just ain't right.
REPEAT (Louder and higher)

Don't want Bush's big time lying.
Not in my name. No way! That just ain't right.

Don't want to be no occupying power.
Not in my name. No way! That just ain't right.

Don't want no more dead soldiers.
Not in my name. No way! That just ain't right.

Don't kill or die for me, young soldier.
Not in my name. No way! That just ain't right.

I don't want no secret torture prisons.
Not in my name. No way! That just ain't right.

Don't want to trash my country's reputation.
Not in my name. No way! That just ain't right.

The Bill of Rights was written for a reason.
Don't take them away. No way! don't take
them away.

(Repeat the first verse)

Newton Dialogues on Peace & War

**Songs For Fun & Non-
Profit To Celebrate
Mothers Day**

AARDVARK

It starts with an 'A'
Aardvark, Aardvark
And ends with a 'K'
Aardvark, Aardvark
Not easy to say
Aardvark, Aardvark
But try anyway
Aardvark, Aardvark
At work and at play
Aardvark, Aardvark
Eats ants everyday
Aardvark, Aardvark
You spell it this way
Double A-A, R-D-V-A-R-K.
Aardvark!

I'LL FLY AWAY

Some bright morning when this life is over,
I'll fly away
To a home on God's celestial shore
I'll fly away

Chorus:

I'll fly away, Oh glory,
I'll fly away (in the morning)
When I die, Hallelujah, by and by
I'll fly away (fly away)

When the shadows of this life have grown
I'll fly away
Like a bird that prison bars has flown
I'll fly away

Just a few more weary days and then
I'll fly away
To a land where joys will never end
I'll fly away

TWELVE GATES TO THE CITY
(Chorus) Oh, what a beautiful city. (2x)
Twelve gates to the city, hallelujah.

205A

FREEDOM TRILOGY

1. HARRIET TUBMAN - Walter Robinson

One night I dreamed I was in slavery
'Bout 1850 was the time
Sorrow was the only sign
Nothing about to ease my mind.
Out of the night appeared a lady
Leading a distant pilgrim band
"First Mate!" she cried pointing her hand,
"Make room aboard for this young woman"
(Singing) Come on up, I've got a life
line
Come on up to this train of mine (x2)
She said her name was Harriet
Tubman
And she drove for the Underground
Railroad.

Hundreds of miles we traveled onward
Gathering slaves from town to town
Seeking every lost and found
Setting those free that once were bound.
Somehow my heart was growing weaker,
I fell by the wayside sinking sand.
Firmly did this lady stand,
She lifted me up and took my hand.

2. FOLLOW THE DRINKIN' GOURD

Chorus: Follow the drinkin' gourd (x2)
For the old man is a-waitin' for to
carry you to freedom.
Follow the drinkin' gourd.

When the sun comes up and the first quail
calls, Follow the drinkin' gourd.
For the old man is a-waitin' for to carry you
to freedom.
Follow the drinkin' gourd.

The riverbank will make a mighty good road
The dead tree, will show you the way.
Left foot, peg foot, travelin' on,
Follow the drinkin' gourd. [Cont'd]

The river ends between two hills, Follow...
There's another river on the other side,
Follow the drinkin' gourd.

Come on up, I've got a life line
Come on up to this train of mine (x2)
She said her name was Harriet
Tubman
And she drove for the Underground
Railroad.

**3. RIVERS OF BABYLON - Brent Dowe &
Trevor McNaughton**

By the rivers of Babylon, there we sat down
And there we wept when we remembered
Zion. (x2)

And the wicked carry us away captivity,
require of us a song
How can we sing King Alfa's song in a
strange land? (x2)

(So) Let the words of my mouth and the
meditations of my heart
Be acceptable in thy sight, over I. (x2)

Chorus

Come on up, I've got a life line
Come on up to this train of mine (x2)
She said her name was Harriet Tubman
And she drove for the Underground Railroad.

IF I HAD A HAMMER

If I had a hammer, I'd hammer in the morning
I'd hammer in the evening, All over this land.

I'd hammer out danger, I'd hammer out a
warning,
I'd hammer out love between my brothers and
my sisters,
All over this land.

If I had a bell, I'd ring it in the morning,
I'd ring it in the evening, All over this land.
I'd ring out danger, I'd ring out a warning

I'd ring out love between my brothers and my
sisters, All over this land.

If I had a song, I'd sing it in the morning,
I'd sing it in the evening, All over this land.
I'd sing out danger, I'd sing out a warning
I'd sing out love between my brothers and my
sisters, All over this land.

Well I've got a hammer, And I've got a bell,
And I've got a song to sing, all over this land.
It's the hammer of Justice,
It's the bell of Freedom,
It's a song about Love between my brothers
and my sisters, All over this land.

KISSES SWEETER THAN WINE

When I was a young man and had never been
kissed,
I got to thinking it over, how much I had
missed.
I got me a girl and I kissed her and then,
Oh, Lordy, I kissed her again.

Oh, oh, kisses sweeter than wine. [2x]

I asked her to marry and be my sweet wife,
And we'd be oh so happy for the rest of our
lives.
I begged and I pleaded like a natural man,
And them, oh Lordy, she gave me her hand.

Oh, oh, kisses sweeter than wine.

We worked mighty hard both me & my wife,
Struggling together to build a good life.
With corn in the fields and wheat in the bins,
I was, oh Lordy, the father of twins.

Our children they numbered just about four,
And they all had sweethearts knocking at the
door.
They all got married and didn't hesitate,
And then oh Lord, I was grandfather of 8.
[Cont'd]

207A

Now that we're old and ready to go,
We get to thinking 'bout what happened
A long time ago.
We've had a lot of trouble, lot of hardship
and pain, but then
Oh, lordy, we'd do it all again.

Oh, oh, kisses sweeter than winer.

**THE SWEETEST GIFT, A MOTHER'S
SMILE** James B. Coats

One day a mother came to the prison
To see an erring but precious son;
She told the warden how much she loved
him,
It did not matter what he had done.

She did not bring (bring to him),
Parole or pardon (pardon free);
She brought no silver (brought no
gold),
No pomp or style (him to see);
It was a halo (halo bright)
Sent down from heaven (heaven's
light),
The sweetest gift, a mother's smile.

Her boy had wandered far from the fireside,
Though she had pleaded with him each night;
Yet not a word did she ever utter,
That told her heartaches, her smile was
bright.

She left a smile you can remember;
She's gone to heaven from heartaches free;
The bars around you will never change her,
You were her baby and e'er will be.

WHEN THE SAINTS GO MARCHIN IN

We are traveling in the footsteps
Of those who've gone before
But we'll all be reunited
On a new and sunlit shore.

Chorus

Oh when the saints go marching in

When the saints go marching in
Oh I want to be in that number
When the saints go marching in

And when the sun refuse to shine (2)

And on that hallelujah day (2).

And when the trumpet starts to call (2)

Oh when the saints....

PLEASANT AND DELIGHTFUL

'Twas pleasant and delightful on a bright
summer's morn

When the green fields and the meadows, they
were covered in corn

And the blackbirds and the thrushes sang
from every green tree

And the larks, they sang melodious - at the
dawning of the day

And the larks, they sang melodious, (3x)
at the dawning of the day.

A sailor and his true love were out walking
one day

Said the sailor to his true love, "I am bound
far away

I am bound for the East Indies, where the
wild cannon roar

And I'm bound to leave my Nancy, she's the
girl that I adore

And I'm bound to leave my Nancy, (3x)
she's the girl that I adore.

Said the sailor to his true love, "I must be on
my way

For the topsails, she is hoisted and the
anchor's aweigh

And the big ship, she is waiting for the next
flowing tide

And if ever I return again, I will make you
my bride

And if ever . . . (3x)

I will make you my bride. [Cont'd]

A ring from her finger she instantly drew
Saying, "Take this, dearest William, and my
heart will go too."

And as they stood embracing, tears from her
eyes fell

Saying, "May I go along with you?"

Saying, May I . . . (3x)

Oh no, my love, farewell!

BANKS OF MARBLE

(Chorus) The banks are made of marble,
With a guard at every door,
And the vaults are stuffed with silver
That the farmer (miner, seamen) sweated for.

Final Verse and Chorus:

I've seen my brothers working
Throughout this mighty land,
I prayed we'd get together
And together make a stand.

Then we'd own those banks of marble
With no guard at every door
And we'd share the vaults of silver
That the people sweated for!

THE JUTE MILL SONG - Mary Brookbank

O, dear me, the mill is running fast
And we poor shifters canna get nae rest
Shifting bobbins, coarse thread and fine
They fairly make you work for your ten and
nine.

O, dear me, I wish this day were done
Running up and down the Pass is nae fun
Shiftin', weavin', spinning, warp, weft and
twine

To feed and clothe ma babies off of ten and
nine.

O, dear me, the world is ill-divided
Them that works the hardest are the least
provided;
But I must bide contented, dark days or fine
There's no much pleasure living off of ten
and nine

HOW DO WE WANT OUR WORLD?

208A

Chorus 1

How do you want your world? (2x)
Tell me how do you want your world
Today?

Bridge chorus

Mirror, mirror on the war
Who's the savior of us all?
Who will throw the first stone?
Who will let the truth be known?
Who will speak out? Who will make a stand,
knowing the power of choice
Is in our hands?

Chorus 2

How do we want our world? (2x)
Tell me how do we want our world
Today?

DOWN BY THE RIVERSIDE

I'm gonna lay down my sword and shield
Down by the Riverside! [3x]
I'm gonna lay down my sword and shield
' Down by the Riverside!
Ain't gonna study war no more!

I aint gonna study war no more,
Study war no more,
Aint gonna study war no more.

I'm gonna walk with the Prince of Peace...

We're gonna join hands around the world.

I'm gonna lay down my sword and shield....

PEACE SAALAM SHALOM

**HAPPY MOTHERS DAY
AND BEST HOPES FOR
A MORE PEACEFUL
WORLD!**

Newton Dialogues On Peace & War. May 14, 2006

**SONGS AND POEMS FOR MOTHER'S DAY
WITH HOPES FOR PEACE IN A TIME OF WAR**

Introduction, Marilyn Bentov

Julia Ward Howe, *Mothers' Day Proclamation*, read by Linda Nathanson

Michael, Row Your Boat Ashore

Michael, row your boat ashore, hallelujah [x2]

Sister, help to trim the sails, hallelujah. [x2]

Jordan River is chilly and cold, hallelujah,
Chills the body, but not the soul, hallelujah.

Jordan River is deep and wide, hallelujah,
Milk and honey on the other side, hallelujah.

Alice Aronow reads

Photo From The Front

Radio Interview

Ralph Madsen reads

In Kabul Suffering

Has Long Been The Norm

I Won't Turn Back

- Take this pain and give me freedom...
- Chorus: I won't turn back, I won't turn back.
- Take my arms and hold them higher...
- Take my legs and make them stronger...
- Take my mind and make it clearer...
- Take my thoughts and make them sharper
- Take my heart and make it purer...
- Let my eyes see all people...
- Take this fear and give me courage.
- I won't turn back, I won't turn back.

Faye Snider reads

Weep, George Moses Horton, Civil War poet
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Three Verses from Concerning The Book That is The Body of the Beloved, Gregory Orr

210A

Kisses Sweeter Than Wine

When I was a young man and never been kissed
I got to thinking it over what I had missed.
I got me a gal and I kissed her and then,
Oh Lordy, I kissed her again.

Oh, kisses sweeter than wine,
Oh, kisses sweeter than wine.

I asked her to marry and be my sweet wife,
And we'd be oh so happy for the rest of our lives.
I begged and I pleaded like a natural man,
And then, Oh Lordy, she gave me her hand.

We worked mighty hard both me and my wife,
Workin' hand in hand to build a good life.
With corn in the field and wheat in the bins,

I was Oh Lordy, the father of twins.

Our children they numbered just about four,
They all had sweethearts knockin' at the door.
They all got married and didn't hesitate;
I was, Oh Lordy, the grandfather of eight.

Now that we're old, and ready to go,
We get to thinking 'bout what happened a long time ago.
We had a lot of trouble, lot of heartaches and pain,
But, Oh Lordy, We'd do it all again.

Oh, kisses sweeter than wine.

Johnny I Hardly Knew You

Chorus:

With your guns and drums and drums and guns,
Hurroo! Hurroo! (2x)
With your guns and drums and drums and guns,
The enemy nearly slew you.
Oh, my darlin' dear you looked so queer,
Why Johnny I hardly knew you.

211 A

Where are your eyes that were so mild?
Hurroo! Hurroo! (2x)
Where are your eyes that were so mild
That looked upon the world and smiled?
Why did you run from me and the child?
Oh, Johnny I hardly knew you.

Where are your legs that used to run,
Hurroo! Hurroo! (2x)
Where are your legs that used to run,
When first you went to carry a gun?
I'm afraid your dancin' days are done.
Johnny I hardly knew you.

Chorus (With your guns and drums, etc.)

I'm happy for to see you home.
Hurroo! Hurroo! (2x
I'm happy for to see you home.
Oh my darling so pale and wan,
So low in flesh, so high in bone,
Oh, Johnny I hardly knew you.

They're rolling out the guns again.
Hurroo! Hurroo! (2x)
They're rolling out the guns again.
But they never will take our sons again,
No they never will take our sons again,
Johnny, I'm swearin' to you.

Judith Hudson reads

June Jordan, *The bombing of Baghdad*

Amazing Grace

Amazing grace! How sweet the sound
That saved a wretch like me!
I once was lost, but now am found;
Was blind, but now I see.

'Twas grace that taught my heart to fear,
And grace my fears relieved;
How precious did that grace appear
The hour I first believed!

Through many dangers, toils and snares,
I have already come;
'Tis grace hath brought me safe thus far,
And grace will lead me home.

Amazing grace....

Peace, peace in our lifetime

Marilyn Bentov reads

Mother Goose Speaks Out

If Only, Saud Al-Assadi

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To Old Women

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Testamento, Ariel Dorfman

Circle round for freedom
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 Circle for the planet.
 Circle for each soul.
 For the children of our children, Keep the circle whole.

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Yehuda Amichai, May I rest in peace

Last Night I had the Strangest Dream

Last night I had the strangest dream
 I'd never dreamed before.
 I dreamed the world had all agreed
 To put an end to war.

I dreamed I saw a mighty room,
 And the room was filled with women and men,
 And the paper they were signing said
 They'd never fight again.

And when the paper was all signed
 And a million copies made,
 They all joined hands & bowed their heads.
 And grateful prayers were prayed.

And the people in the streets below
 Were dancing round and round
 While swords and guns and uniforms
 Were scattered on the ground.

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The Rose

Some say love, it is a river
 That drowns the tender reed
 Some say love, it is a razor
 That leaves your soul to bleed
 Some say love, it is a hunger,
 An endless aching need.
 I say love, it is a flower
 And you its only seed.
 It's the heart afraid of breaking
 That never learns to dance.
 It's the dream afraid of waking
 That never takes the chance.
 It's one who won't be taken,
 Who cannot seem to give
 And the soul afraid of dying,
 That never learns to live.
 When the night has been too lonely,
 And the road has been too long,
 And you think that love is only
 For the lucky & the strong,
 Just remember in the winter
 Far beneath the bitter snows,
 Lies the seed that with the sun's love
 In the spring becomes the rose.

We are free

We are free, we are free, we are free. [2]
 Oh! Let us celebrate, celebrate, celebrate.
 Oh, let us celebrate,
 Ooh la la, oh la.

2006
215A

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2214

The Mystic Choral

The Mystic Choral is a community that shares a love of celebration, joining voices in music of many cultures to create a living harmony that is joyful, healing and compassionate. Led by founder and Artistic Director Nick Page, the Choral invites anyone who wants to sing — whether they have had any formal training or not — to participate in their musical activities. The Choral routinely draws 200-300 singers to its weekly rehearsals and sing-along concerts, and also sponsors a variety of workshops and other events.

The Mystic Choral was founded in 1990 by Nick Page, a composer, music educator and song leader. From the beginning, the concerts were designed as participatory events and audience involvement is a part of every program.

Based in Arlington, MA, the Choral performs 2-3 Concerts and Sings each year at the Tremont Temple in Boston, Sanders Theatre in Cambridge and at locations around the Boston area. In 2000 the School Outreach Program was created. Its purpose is to extend the Choral's mission by working with teachers in the public schools and promoting singing as a way to build community.

Find out more at: www.mysticchorale.org

Lloyd Schwartz

Lloyd Schwartz is Frederick S. Troy Professor of English, UMass. and Pulitzer Prize classical music critic for the Boston Phoenix and NPR's FRESH AIR. He is a poet widely acclaimed for his sensitive, illuminating readings.

Newton Dialogues on Peace and War

NDPW was formed shortly after the Sept/11 by a group of Newton citizens dedicated to the cause of world peace. Its mission is to promote democracy and citizen involvement through dialogue, education and action. We oppose militarism and unilateral preventive wars. We oppose unjust tax cuts and favor an economy that supports education, health care and the environment. We oppose the USA Patriot Act and support protection of our civil rights and liberties.

JOIN US AT OUR WEEKLY VIGIL

Every Thursday 5:00 to 6:00 pm at the corner of Beacon and Centre Streets in Newton Center.

COME TO OUR MONTHLY MEETINGS

At 7:30, on the second Sunday of the month, at the Eliot Church, 474 Centre Street, Newton Corner.

CONTACT US

PO Box 610395, Newton, MA 02461
or at www.newtondialogue.org

Newton Dialogues on Peace and War
presents

THE MYSTIC CHORALE

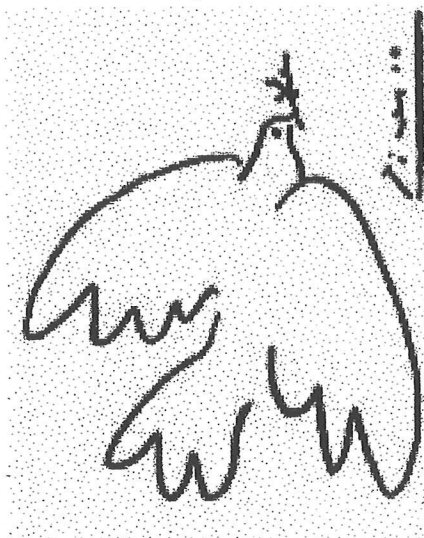
and

LLOYD SCHWARTZ

Concert

and

Poetry Reading



Peace

Eliot Church of Newton — 474 Centre Street — Newton Corner — June 6, 2004

PROGRAM

Ale Brider
Yiddish folksong

All men are brothers, all women are sisters

Greetings
Marilyn Bertov

There's Honey in the Rock
Spiritual adapted from the version Guy and Candie Carawan learned from Mrs. Alice Wine of John's Island, South Carolina, with additional verses from Spirituals and by Nick Page

There's honey in the rock for all God's children,
Honey in the rock, honey in the rock,
There's honey in the rock for all God's children,
Feed every child of God.

The Storm is Passing Over
By Charles Albert Tindley, arranged by Ysaye Maria Barnwell

When Will the Fighting Cease?
Music by William Byrd, words by Nick Page and Nita Penfold

When will the fighting cease?
When will we live in peace?
When our love breaks boundaries.

Freedom is Coming
South African

Freedom is coming, freedom is coming,
Freedom is coming, oh yes I know.

Readings by Lloyd Schwartz
♦ *Proverbs From Purgatory* by Lloyd Schwartz
♦ *Jerusalem* by Yehudah Amichai
♦ *Sleet Storm on the Merritt Parkway* by Robert Bly
♦ *The Stare's Nest* by W.B. Yeats

Ya Hadi Allah
By Alla'udin Matthieu

Eli Eli
Lyrics by Hanna Senesch with translation adapted by Marilyn Bertov, music by David Zehavi

My God of all, God's love shall never end;
The sand and the sea, the rush of the waters,
The thundering heavens, the prayers of our heart.
The sand and the sea, the rush of the waters,
The thundering heavens, the prayers of our heart.

Shout the Praise
By Nick Page

The Majesty of God
By Duke Ellington, arranged by Nick Page

Senzenina (What Have we Done?)
South African

This Land is Your Land
By Woody Guthrie, arranged by Jane Sapp

This land is your land, this land is my land,
From California to the New York island,
From the redwood forests to the Gulf Stream waters,
This land is made for you and me.

Acknowledgements
Linda Nathanson
Newton Dialogues on Peace and War

A Promise I Will Keep
Words and music by Nick Page

This is a promise I will keep.
This is a promise I will keep.
I will turn my hand toward good.
This is a promise I will keep.

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222A

214A 212A
223A

NEWTON DIALOGUES ON PEACE AND WAR

invites you to a benefit

PEACE AND RECONCILIATION CONCERT

presenting

THE MYSTIC CHORALE

and a

POETRY READING by LLOYD SCHWARTZ

**SUNDAY JUNE 6 3 P. M.
ELIOT CHURCH OF NEWTON
474 Centre St., Newton Corner**

THE MYSTIC CHORALE is widely acclaimed for its diverse musical repertoire and soul-inspiring sound. Nick Page, founder and artistic director, generates a powerful energy that inspires singers, musicians and audiences. You will be invited to sing along on some of the songs under Nick's direction. Dedicated to singing as a source of compassion, healing and connection, the chorus is famous for lifting audiences to their feet and sending them home on wings of joy. You don't just listen to the concert, you experience it.

LLOYD SCHWARTZ is Frederick S. Troy Professor of English, University of Massachusetts, Pulitzer Prize classical music critic for the Boston Phoenix and NPR's FRESH AIR. He is a poet and one of the finest poetry readers in the English Language.

NEWTON DIALOGUES ON PEACE AND WAR was formed by a group of citizens dedicated to the cause of world peace. Its mission is to promote democracy and citizen involvement through education and action.

Tickets are \$10 for adults and \$6 for children under 10 and may be purchased at the door.
For E-mail orders: sarodiga55@aol.com Information: www.newtondialog.org

Newton's Interfaith Prayer for Peace
Our Lady Help of Christians Parish
March 2, 2003



Peace On Earth

Prelude

Hand Bell Choir
Instrumentalists and Vocalists
Our Lady's Choir

Processional

World Peace Prayer
(see loose-leaf music)

Welcome

Rev. Walter H. Cuenin
Pastor, Our Lady's Parish

Peace Offerings from Religious Communities**...And the Children Shall Lead Them**

Ruth Bolotin
6th-grader, Oak Hill School

Congregational Singing

Make Me a Channel of Your Peace

*Make me a channel of your peace. Where there is hatred, let me bring your love.
Where there is injury, your pardon, Lord, and where there's doubt true faith in you.*

*Make me a channel of your peace. Where there's despair in life, let me bring hope,
Where there is darkness, only light, and where there's sadness, ever joy.*

*Oh, Master, grant that I may never seek, So much to be consoled as to console.
To be understood as to understand. To be loved as to love with all my soul.*

*Make me a channel of your peace. It is in pardoning that we are pardoned, in giving of
ourselves that we receive, and in dying that we're born to eternal life.*

Jewish Peace Offering

A reading from the
Hebrew Scriptures
Reflection

Linda and Steve Nathanson
Founding Members
Newton Dialogues on Peace and War

Hand Bell Choir*Celtic Blessing*

Unitarian Peace Offering
 "A Prayer for Children"
 Reflection

Lynn Shields
 Chair, First Unitarian Society Newton,
 Religious Education Council
The Rev. James Ford
 Senior Minister, FUSN

Congregational Singing*Dona Nobis Pacem*

Do-na no-bis pa-cem pa-cem
Do-na no-bis pa-cem

Sim---sha-lom to-va uv-ra-cha
sim---shalom to-va uv-ra-cha

Do-na no-bis pa-cem
Do-na no-bis pa-cem

to-va to-va uv-ra-cha
sha-lom to-va to-va uv-ra-cha

Do-na no-bis pa-cem
Do-na no-bis pa-cem

sha-lom to-va uv-ra-cha
sha-lom to-va to-va uv-ra-cha

Christian Peace Offering
 Genesis 1:26-28, 31a
 Matthew 5:1-10
 Reflection

Rob Schoeck
 Parishioner, St. John's Episcopal Church
The Rev. Beulah Koulouris
 Co-Chair, Peace and Justice Committee,
 Episcopal Diocese of Massachusetts

O God, you made us in your own image. We pray that you will look with compassion on the whole human family, take away the arrogance and hatred which infect our hearts, break down the walls that separate us, unite us in bonds of love, and work through our struggles and confusion to accomplish your purposes on earth, so that all nations and races may stand reconciled before you, and at peace with one another.

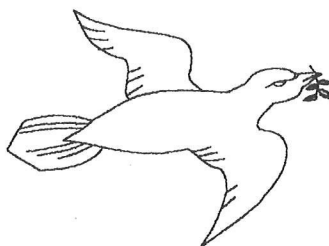
Concluding Ritual

Rev. Walter H. Cuenin



Recessional*Let There Be Peace on Earth*

*Let there be peace on earth, and let it begin with me.
 Let there be peace on earth, the peace that was meant to be.
 With God as Creator, family all are we. Let us walk with each other in perfect harmony.
 Let peace begin with me; let this be the moment now.
 With every step I take, let this be my solemn vow; to take each moment, and live each
 moment in peace eternally!
 Let there be peace on earth, and let it begin with me.*



Following our prayer service, there will be educational resources pertaining to the war in Iraq available in the back of the church.

We are grateful to the children whose peace-filled artwork is on display in the church.

We are grateful to our presenters and musicians who coordinated their talents on very short notice. Thank you for sharing your gift of faith with the city of Newton!

We are grateful to the planning committee of Newton's Interfaith Peace Vigil:

Bridget M. Chamberas, Our Lady's Parish

Kathy D'Agostino, Our Lady's Parish

The Rev. James Ford, First Unitarian Society Newton

The Rev. Beulah Koulouris, St. John's Episcopal Church

Newton Dialogues on Peace & War
Presents

"Peace & War and our current Global Crisis"

Wednesday, January 29, 2003
2:00 p.m.

Stephen Palmer Senior Center
83 Pickering Street
Needham, MA 02492

Please join the Needham Council on Aging's
Current Events group as we welcome Linda
Nathanson, founder of the Newton Dialogues
on Peace and War group. Please call 781-455-
7555 to sign-up. Space is limited.

Needham
Council
Center

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WWW.NEWTONDIALOG.ORG

Newton Dialogues on Peace & War

While we acknowledge that there are no simple answers to the problems that confront our nation and the rest of the world, Newton Dialogues urges a new direction for the United States. We are dedicated to democratic dialogue and discussion. We oppose militarism and unilateral, preventive wars. We support cooperative security strategies through the United Nations. Join our mailing list by writing to univ@attbi.com or PO Box 610395, Newton, MA 02461. Join our monthly meetings: usually held at 7:30, 2nd Sunday every month, Eliot Church, 474 Centre St., Newton Corner.

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CONTACT NEWTON DIALOGUES ON WAR AND PEACE

newtondialog.home.attbi.com

**OPEN LETTER FROM DR. BERNARD LOWN
NEWTON RESIDENT
PROFESSOR, HARVARD MEDICAL SCHOOL
CO-FOUNDER OF INTERNATIONAL PHYSICIANS FOR THE PREVENTION
OF NUCLEAR WAR, WINNER OF THE 1985 NOBEL PRIZE PEACE PRIZE**

ON THE THREAT OF WAR AGAINST IRAQ

It is with a heavy heart that I write to you as we begin a new year with the fear that another attack on the beleaguered people of Iraq is imminent, and, like you, I'm outraged.

Prior to the first Gulf War, IPPNW informed all within ear shot that war would be an unthinkable calamity. We warned that coating the sands of Arabia with blood, creating millions of refugees, and crippling a nation was no way to secure peace and justice in the Middle East. "Victory," we forecast, would destabilize an already volatile region, stimulate proliferation, foment the growth of religious fundamentalism and terrorism, and make Americans persona non grata throughout the Muslim world. An even more sinister aspect of the Gulf War would be the legitimization of the use of violence to settle international disputes in the post-Cold War world. Our predictions, if anything, were understated.

Twelve years ago, American military power reduced to rubble a country with a gross domestic product equal to that of the state of Kentucky. While allied casualties were miraculously low, hundreds of thousands of civilians perished. Untold numbers of survivors overwhelmed Iraq's limited medical resources leaving many of the wounded and traumatized without adequate health care. With sanitation and water purification facilities deliberately destroyed, outbreaks of infectious diseases such as cholera, typhoid, malaria, polio, and hepatitis ravaged the population. In short, the Gulf War was an unmitigated health catastrophe.

Yet the Gulf War was not just another carnage. It was intended to rehabilitate war as the proper means for enforcing global order. A new era was opened of high-intensity warfare using modern conventional weapons with devastating results. The military strategy was vastly different from Vietnam. No more body counts or napalmed children. Avoided were the acres of rubble of WWII. No images of Dresden, Tokyo, or Leningrad to wrench emotion, mobilize moral outrage, or evoke sympathy. It was a "techno war." During 43 days of war, the US and its allies dropped 88,500 tons of bombs, the equivalent of nearly seven Hiroshimas. While 70% of the new "smart bombs" were off target, sanitized media coverage focused on the high-tech wizardry of the aerial blitzkrieg. Televised images defined the war as a game, fostering the illusion of safe, bloodless playing fields while a Third World country was being dragged back to the last century.

Appallingly, the delusory belief that overwhelming military force can solve the world's problems is now official US policy. Worse still, the Bush Administration has sanctioned mere threat perception as sufficient justification for waging unilateral "preventive" war, propagandized as an essential element to defeating terrorism and to ensuring peace. Nearly 2,000 years ago, the Roman

historian Publius Tacitus saw through the rhetoric, "They make a wilderness and call it peace."

IPPNW is once more sounding a global medical warning of a humanitarian catastrophe in the making. Should America wage war on Iraq, again the cost will be borne primarily by the innocent. An assault on Saddam Hussein will be, in real terms, an assault on the people of Iraq. Still suffering from the first Gulf War and more than a decade of economic sanctions, ordinary Iraqis - especially the very young, the infirm, and the elderly - will be far more vulnerable to this new assault than they were in 1991. As documented by our British affiliate, Medact, in the newly released IPPNW report, *Collateral Damage: The Health and Environmental Costs of War on Iraq*, the death toll could mount to more than 200,000 deaths.

A new Gulf War will shatter what remains of Iraq's economic and civilian infrastructure, demolishing simultaneously the interlinked health services. It will leave behind unspeakable environmental degradation with profoundly adverse health effects. IPPNW projects an additional 200,000 victims dying in the post-war aftermath.

Hordes of displaced persons and floods of refugees will subsist in unavoidable squalor. Dumbfounding psychological trauma, like a distorting genetic mutation, will wreak havoc in human behavior into future generations. Such conditions serve as incubators of disease, pestilence, and hatred. Rather than stopping terrorism, a new Gulf War will incite new acts of desperate revenge.

The ever-threatening possibility of a so-called conventional war escalating to the use of nuclear weapons is real. If US forces encounter determined resistance which claim substantial American casualties, the Pentagon is ready to resort to nuclear weapons. The Orwellian language justifying such a dreadful eventuality comes in the nuke-speak of "bunker-busters." For its part, the Bush Administration has just declared that it "reserves the right to use all of our options," including genocidal nuclear weapons. If nuclear weapons are used - by the US or by Israel or by Britain - the help that medicine can render to the countless victims will be utterly trivial in mitigating human suffering.

Thus IPPNW's mission is the practice of preventive medicine of the highest order. We cannot be merely appendages to military machines left to cope with maimed bodies and broken spirits. We cannot sit on the sidelines as helpless spectators to an unfolding tragedy of untold misery and death. Compelled by our sworn duty to protect life we are demanding alternatives to war. Simply stated, when a disease cannot be cured, it must be prevented.

American policy is not preordained. It can be contested and changed - in the coffee shops, the living rooms, and the papers of towns small and large across this great country. Politicians do not respond to moral imperatives, but to the clamor of their constituency. You and I - we are the decision-makers. Together we can meet the challenge and speak out against this injustice, and change the wayward immoral course.

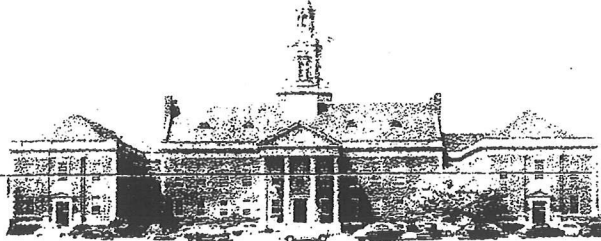
I urge you to order a copy of IPPNW's *Collateral Damage* report for yourself - and to send copies to your representatives in Congress. Demand that they publicly renounce war on Iraq and support UN weapons inspections. Help us spread the word still further. Talk to your friends, your congregation, your editorial board about the impending humanitarian catastrophe and the portentous direction of US war-making. Visit IPPNW's website at www.ippnw.org to see what others around the world are doing to prevent this senseless war.

International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War
727 Massachusetts Ave. Cambridge, MA 02139 Tel (617) 868-5050

2005
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Commonwealth of Massachusetts

City of Newton



Proclamation

Whereas, on August 6, 1945 and August 9, 1945 the United States of America dropped atomic bombs on the cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, Japan; and

Whereas, the bombs resulted in the deaths of more than 20% of the existing population in those cities, thousands of injuries, and untold pain and suffering of countless Japanese since then; and

Whereas, the residents of the City of Newton express our thoughts, prayers, and well-wishes to the citizens of Japan on the 60th anniversary of these bombings; and

Whereas, as a member of Mayor's for Peace, I, Mayor David B. Cohen, join the 600 mayors from 100 countries around the world, including over 60 from U.S. cities and towns, in our belief that the stockpiling and potential use of nuclear weapons is the single greatest threat to human survival; and

Whereas, the people of Newton are united in our desire to live in a peaceful world;

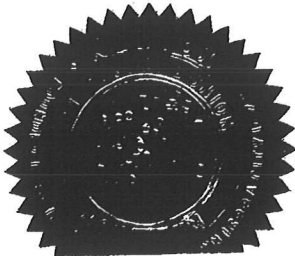
Now, therefore, be it resolved, that I, David B. Cohen, Mayor of the City of Newton, on behalf of the entire citizenry, do hereby extend our best wishes to the citizens of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, Japan and hereby proclaim

August 6, 2005

Nuclear Disarmament Day

In the City of Newton

and urge all the residents of Newton to take a moment to reflect on the anniversary of the world events that took place 60 years ago.



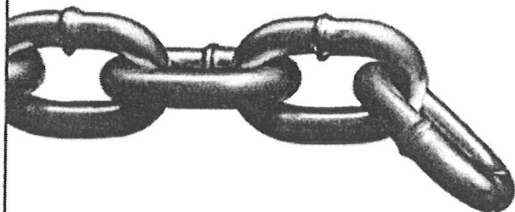

David B. Cohen
Mayor

EXPERTS SAY:

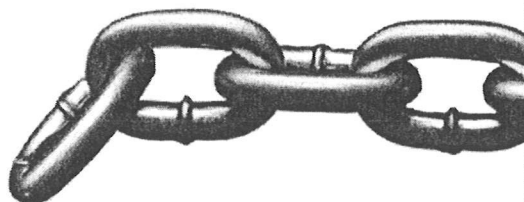
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IRAQ



AL QAEDA



THERE'S SIMPLY NO LINK.

"At the FBI, some investigators said they were baffled by the Bush administration's insistence on a solid link between Iraq and Osama bin Laden's network. 'We've been looking at this hard for more than a year and you know what, we just don't think it's there,' a government official said." — James Risen and David Johnston

New York Times, February 2, 2003

"I am also very troubled by the way Bush officials have tried to justify this war on the grounds that Saddam is allied with Osama bin Laden or will be soon. There is simply no proof of that, and every time I hear them repeat it I think of the Gulf of Tonkin resolution. You don't take the country to war on the wings of a lie."

— Thomas Friedman, Pulitzer Prize-Winning Columnist
New York Times, February 19, 2002

EXPERTS SAY:

WAR WILL HURT AMERICA.

"We are about to do something that could ignite a fuse in this region that we will rue the day we ever started." — Gen. Anthony Zinni, USMC (Ret.)

Hetcher Conference, October 17, 2002

War with Iraq will kill up to 500,000 Iraqi civilians⁽¹⁾ cost the US up to \$1,600,000,000,000⁽²⁾ and may even "supercharge recruiting for al Qaeda."⁽³⁾

(1) CBC: <http://cbc.ca/stories/2002/11/12/iraqreport021112>

(2) Yale economist William Neelhaus: <http://www.yalebooks.com/articles/15839>

(3) Gen. Wesley Clark, former NATO Supreme Commander

<http://archive.salon.com/news/feature/2002/10/17/news/>

EXPERTS SAY:

INSPECTIONS WORKED BEFORE. THEY CAN WORK AGAIN.

"We did ascertain a 90-95 percent level of verified disarmament [including] the destruction or dismantling of every major factory associated with prohibited weapons manufacture, all significant items of production equipment, and the majority of the weapons and agent produced by Iraq." — Scott Ritter, former U.N. Weapons Inspector

Boston Globe, February 20, 2002

Successful disarmament of Iraq is possible without Baghdad's active cooperation.

— Hans Blix, Chief U.N. Weapons Inspector

Reuters, February 7, 2003

EXPERTS SAY:

INSPECTIONS WORK WAR WON'T

Sponsored
by

Newton Dialogues on Peace and War

<http://newtondialog.home.attbi.com> univ@attbi.com PO Box 610395, Newton, MA 02461

Please join our weekly vigil, Thursday 5-6 pm, corner of Beacon and Center Streets

About the Play

Guantanamo: 'Honor Bound to Defend Freedom,' is the work of two London playwrights, Victoria Brittain and Gillian Slovo, and was compiled from spoken evidence and letters from British detainees to their families. It was performed in London in 2004, with later runs in New York and other U.S. cities.

With tonight's reading we are joining hundreds of other groups around the U.S. who have participated in "The Guantanamo Reading Project"—a collaboration of the Center for Constitutional Rights and the Bill of Rights Defense Committee (www.bordc.org). "[This] Project focuses attention on the shameful and unlawful detentions at the U.S. naval base in Guantanamo Bay, Cuba. The Project's goal is to encourage local debate and action to support the remaining detainees' *habeas* rights to challenge their detentions in federal court, as upheld by the U.S. Supreme Court in 2004."

Note: That Supreme Court ruling may become moot, as Congress is now considering an amendment to the Defense Appropriations bill that would abolish *habeas corpus* rights for detainees. Senator Kennedy voted against this rights-abolishing, Graham-Levin amendment; Senator Kerry voted for it. We need to press Congress to protect the right of detainees to a court hearing on whether they are being wrongfully held in prison.

"*The position of the executive branch [of the U.S. government] is that it can be judge, jury, and executioner.*" —Prof. Eric Freedman, Hofstra University, as quoted in the *New York Times*, November 27, 2005.

About Newton Dialogues on Peace and War

Founded in the fall of 2001 in reaction to the attacks on the U.S. and our government's response, NDPW is dedicated to democratic dialogue and discussion.

- We oppose militarism and unilateral, preventive wars.
- We support cooperative strategies through the United Nations.
- We oppose unwise, unjust tax cuts and support a just economy that provides support for education, health care and the environment.
- We oppose the USA Patriot Act and support the protection of our cherished civil rights and liberties.

Newton Dialogues/PO Box 610395, Newton, MA 02461
www.newtondialog.org

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NEWTON DIALOGUES ON PEACE AND WAR
presents a public reading of the play

GUANTÁNAMO:

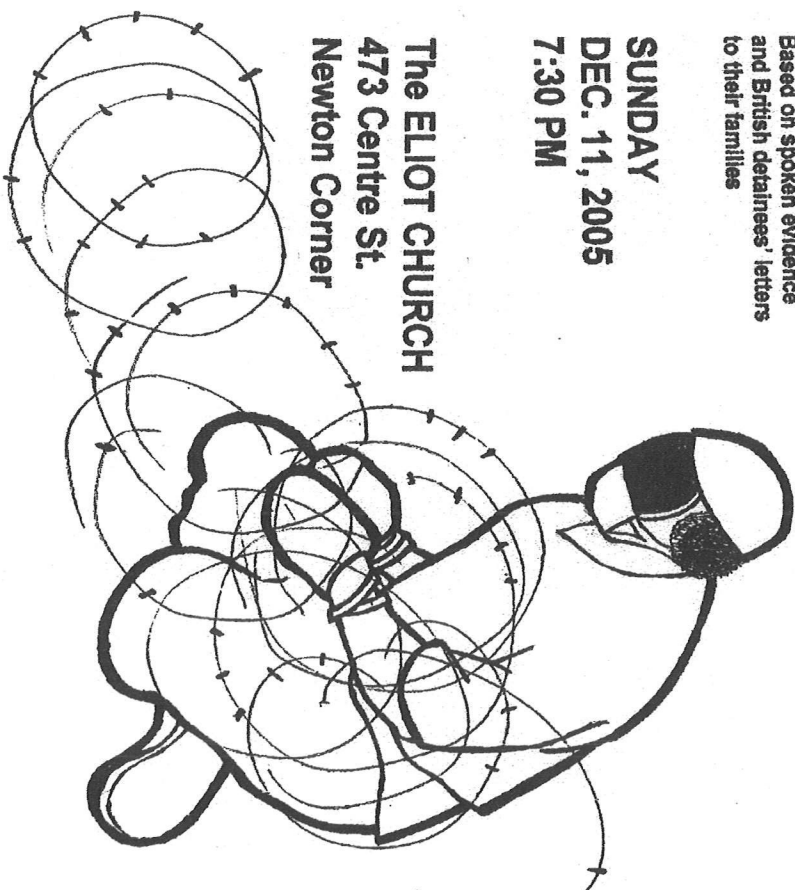
HONOR BOUND TO DEFEND FREEDOM

by Victoria Brittain and Gillian Slovo

Based on spoken evidence
and British detainees' letters
to their families

SUNDAY
DEC. 11, 2005
7:30 PM

The ELIOT CHURCH
473 Centre St.
Newton Corner



For more information on Newton Dialogues on Peace and War
visit www.newtondialog.org

Director: Laura Lewis
Producer: Linda Nathanson

Cast in Order of Appearance

<i>Lord Justice Johan Steyn</i>	Stephen Linsky
<i>Call to Prayer</i>	Hamid Lari
<i>Mr. Begg</i> (Father of detainee Moazzam)	Marilyn Bentov
<i>Wahab al-Rawi</i> (Brother of Bisher)	Doris Tennant
<i>Jamal al-Harith</i> (Detainee)	David Snieckus
<i>Gareth Peirce</i> (Lawyer)	Thelma Klein Strauss
<i>Mr. Lee</i> (Interrogator)	Bob Marcou
<i>Mark Jennings</i> (Lawyer)	Edith Fenton
<i>Bisher al-Rawi</i> (Detainee)	David Ascher
<i>Moazzam Begg</i> (Detainee)	Stephen Linsky
<i>Tom Clarke</i> (brother of 9/11 victim)	Marty Dozois
<i>Newswomen</i>	Anne Serafin, Freda Rebelsky, Edith Fenton
<i>Donald Rumsfeld</i>	Andy Strauss (voice)
<i>Ruhel Ahmed</i> (Detainee)/ <i>Call to prayer</i>	Hamid Lari
<i>Clive Stafford Smith</i> (Lawyer)	Bob Marcou
<i>Major Mori</i> (Military Defense Counsel)	Andy Strauss
<i>Jack Straw</i> (British Foreign Secretary)	Freda Rebelsky
<i>Greg Powell</i> (Lawyer)	David Ascher
<i>Mr. Ahmed</i> (Ruhel's father)	Anne Serafin

The play is in two Acts, with a 10-minute intermission. At the conclusion, there will be an opportunity to ask questions of Dr. Michael Grodin, who has been a consultant for the lawyers of several Guantanamo detainees.

Please note: The play consists of letters and speeches by detainees and their relatives and lawyers. These are all real stories of real people. The text moves from person to person in different locations, rather like a succession of monologues. To make it easier for the audience to understand who is who, we are providing an explanation and a stage diagram.

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The Muslim call to prayer—morning, noon, and evening—is heard throughout the play.

Act I opens with a speech by Lord Steyn, a British judge. Then Mr. Begg begins to talk about his son Moazzam, who was working in Afghanistan and is now an enemy detainee in Guantanamo. Parallel stories involve **Wahab al-Rawi**, who was trying to set up a business in Africa (Gambia) and was detained there, his brother **Bisher**, detained and sent to Guantanamo, and **Jamal al-Harith**, who went to Pakistan to study and was arrested and sent to Guantanamo.

Act II opens with a speech by Tom Clarke, a British citizen whose sister was killed in the September 11 attack in New York City. Guantanamo detainee **Ruhel Ahmed** speaks from his letter home, describing his serious eye problems.

You will hear the detainees' stories also from the point of view of their various lawyers: Gareth Pierce, Mark Jennings, Clive Stafford Smith, and Major Mori. The British government voice is that of Foreign Secretary Jack Straw. The American position is heard in the words of Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld.

Stage diagram:

Call to prayer			Steyn
Jack Straw	Newspeople	Smith Lee	
Rumsfeld	Bisher	Powell	Tom Clarke
	Ruhel	Peirce	Major Mori
	Jamal	Wahab	
Moazzam			Mr. Begg

Special thanks to Diane Price and Ron Perrone for technical support, Alice Aronow for her art work, Colin Benn and Pete Onofrio for the lovely music, and Thelma Klein Strauss and Andy Strauss for their generosity in opening their home to our rehearsals.